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THE MUSICAL ANTIQUARY

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FRANCESCO CAVALLI

(1602 - 1676).

[On the 16th of last June a commemoration was held at Crema, of Francesco Cavalli, the great 'Maestro' of the seventeenth century and the founder of the Venetian school of operatic music. Crema, which was his birthplace, is a charming little town in Lombardy of about 12,000 inhabitants, distant from Milan some 40 miles in a southeasterly direction. It is famous for its heroic resistance to Frederick Barbarossa, and is full of Venetian memories, having been under the dominion of Venice from 1499 to 1797, that is to say till the Fall of the Republic. The people of Crema, to do honour to their illustrious fellow-citizen, placed a stone tablet in their fine 'Teatro Comunale', with an inscription recording his life and work, and invited Cavaliere Dr. Taddeo Wiel of Venice, who is an authority on the musical history of the 'seicento' and has made a special study of Cavalli, to give a lecture on that great composer. That lecture has been placed at the disposal of the MUSICAL ANTIQUARY by the kindness of the author, who has himself revised the English translation, omitting the parts which had reference to the occasion only, and adding matter which might have wearied his hearers, but which may be of interest to his readers.—EDITORIAL NOTE.]

In honouring Francesco Cavalli, the people of Crema honour their own city; they honour Venice; they honour their country, and Italian art. The association 'Pro Crema' did well in that it promoted and brought about these simple and yet worthy honours to the great 'Maestro', which were not only a tribute of reverent affection and a noble manifestation of legitimate civic pride, but were equally an act of just reparation,—the re-awakening of a glory which shone in Italy, in Germany, and in France throughout the whole of the seventeenth century, though it paled in the eighteenth century. If later again it had fresh recognition, it was only through the writings, often wanting in knowledge or in sound critical judgement, of a few Italian or

foreign musical scholars. Till the middle of the nineteenth century Cavalli was very little known: the biographical notices regarding him were scant; the criticisms brief and vague; his sacred compositions barely recorded in some library catalogues; his theatrical compositions, it is true, were fortunately saved from destruction and robbery, but were hidden and ignored. All writers of musical history make mention of Cavalli, of his fame, and of his merits as a composer; but too often the repetition of what has already been said is evident in those writings without the support of documents, without sufficient study of the Master's compositions, which are many in number and which were for a long time inaccessible to students. Francesco Caffi in his Storia della Musica Sacra nella già Ducale Cappella di San Marco in Venezia, published in 1854, brought several important documents to light, and gave new information, not always exact, as to Cavalli's life and compositions. In 1878 L. N. Galvani (Salvioli) in his Teatri Musicali di Venezia nel secolo XVII diligently collected bibliographical and chronological data relating to the operas by Cavalli given in Venice. Ten years later I was fortunately able to study no less than twenty-eight scores by Cavalli, which I made known, together with over a hundred other precious manuscripts in the Marciana Library, in my Catalogo dei Codici Contariniani del secolo XVII. These treasures, actual relics, so to speak, of Cavalli, and mentioned by him in his will, without however saying to whom he meant to leave them (while he named his pupil D. Gio. Caliari heir to his other musical MSS.), passed into the possession of a contemporary of Cavalli's, the Venetian patrician Marco Contarini, and became part of the musical library which Contarini, himself a great lover of music and a princely Mæcenas, had collected at his superb Villa at Piazzola, near Padua. Contarini and Cavalli were probably friends, and it may well be that during his life the 'Maestro' made a gift of those volumes to his patron. Anyhow, it is certain that two centuries later they were bequeathed by the last Contarini of that branch to the Marciana Library. Fétis writes of having seen them, but he does not seem to have examined them otherwise than superficially. Filippo Filippi describes them in a pamphlet, but he was unable to identify them, inasmuch as not all those precious volumes are works by Cavalli. I was able after much patient research to furnish copious and exact statements on them, and my little book attracted the attention of a famous German musician, the greatest of living historians and musical critics in Germany, who hurried to Venice, knew how to read those valuable manuscripts, some of them autographs of Cavalli, scrutinizing their hidden meanings, studying their profound art. In 1892, Hermann Kretzschmar published his admirable study on The

Opera in Venice, and the works of Cavalli and Cesti. Then for the first time Cavalli was set forth to students in his true light, in his real greatness. For twenty years since then I have enjoyed Geheimrath Kretzschmar's friendship, and from his publications and our correspondence I have learnt to read, to understand, to admire, and to love Cavalli fully.

On February 18, 1617, a youth of fifteen years was inscribed among the choristers of the Ducal Chapel of Venice under the name of Pietro Francesco Bruni. Ten years later he is still there, inscribed as tenor under the name of Francesco Caletto. On January 22, 1640, the chorister is appointed organist, still at St. Mark's, and he is called Francesco Cavalli. On January 11, 1665, he is promoted to the post of head organist; and in 1668, at the age of sixty-six years, he is appointed to succeed Giovanni Rovetta as 'Maestro di Cappella'. Such in few words is Cavalli's official career. He carried on simultaneously his theatrical career, and it was through this that he reached the height of fame and glory. My endeavour will be to present him as a composer of operas, and as the founder of Venetian Opera, touching on the characteristics of his work at different periods of his activity, the bent he received from his master, Monteverdi, and the influence he had on the Venetian school: to treat fully of so vast a subject would

occupy more space than is at my disposal.

The young Bruni, mentioned above, was one of the sons of Gian Battista Caletti Bruni, who 'directed', says Rosalio, a historian of Crema, 'for forty years the Choir of the Cathedral, with much applause and credit.' Caffi searched through the registers of the Parish of Sta. Maria, which are kept in the Church of the SS. Trinità in Crema, and there found the dates of the births and deaths of several members of the Caletti Bruni family, but not that of the birth of Pier Francesco, and gave it up, thinking that the notice for which he was looking could be found only in the pages which were missing in those registers, pages relating to the years 1599 and 1600. Hence sprang his conviction, accepted too by later biographers, that Cavalli was born in one of those years. But the Caletti family, known afterwards as Caletti-Bruni, from the name of Bruno, as the grandfather of Pier Francesco was called, did not live always in the same parish. In fact, when at my request the learned priest D. Pietro Cazzulani made fresh researches in the parish registers of other churches in Crema, he found that Gio. Battista Caletti, parishioner of San Benedetto, had had two children baptized in that church: Pier Francesco, born February 14, 1602; and Diambra Catarina, born February 3, 1604. The date of the famous composer's birth is therefore now clearly ascertained.

As a boy Pier Francesco had a lovely soprano voice, and sang well. He was heard by the Podestà of Crema, who in the years 1615 and 1616 was Federigo Cavalli, a man of a generous nature, possessed of a good ear, who judged rightly that such a voice and such aptitude for music should not be left uncared for. He became his protector, took his protégé to Venice with him, and entrusted him to the care of the 'Maestro di Cappella' of St. Mark's. Fortunate youth! His patron a rich Patrician, his master no less a man than Claudio Monteverdi! On this occasion, too, Fortune was far-seeing and wise. The favours showered on the young chorister were sown in grateful and fruitful soil. A few years later Pier Francesco assumed the family name of his Mæcenas, and called himself 'Francesco Cavalli, viniziano'. He is so called also in the printed libretto of his first opera.

The first work of Cavalli's that has come down to us in chronological order is his first opera, given in 1639, when he had reached maturity. His printed sacred compositions which have also reached us bear dates posterior to 1640. What his studies were in his youthful years we cannot learn from documents, but we can easily guess them for ourselves. For about twenty years he will have been able from his master's personal instruction and example to become thoroughly grounded in sacred and profane art; to follow the development of musical drama, coeval with the century and already glistening with the light of a refulgent dawn. He will have known the fundamental ideas and vicissitudes of the group of Florentine musicians; the compositions of Peri and Caccini, those first essays of musical drama; and the works of Marco da Gagliano. And better than any one he will have been able to appreciate and admire Monteverdi's renovating genius; the bold reforms of harmony; the freedom from old laws; the strong dramatic expression; the new use of instruments; the whole work in short of the Maestro, which in their daily intercourse he will have had every chance of studying to the full. On it he will have trained his own talent, attracted besides by the new horizons ever opening out before him. He will have meditated deeply over the scores of Orfeo and Arianna, those fine melodramas of Rinuccini, which Monteverdi had set to music and had had given in Mantua (the former at the 'Accademia degli Invaghiti'. the latter at the court of the Gonzagas); and those dramatic accents, those melodious phrases will have stirred his artistic mind, will have made him dream fresh harmonies, theatrical applause, and glory.

But his character, aristocratic as it was in its origin, classical in its Hellenic ideals, the very latest product of the Renaissance, was not to be held long by the musical drama such as the Florentines had formed and as Monteverdi had re-formed it.

Emilio del Cavaliere, Peri, Caccini, and then Marco da Gagliano, the Florentine brigade in short, were not dismayed by the essential differences between Greek tonality and that of the Palestrinian epoch: therefore the attempt to restore the dreamt-of form of Greek art had not succeeded according to their intentions. It is to those worthies, however, that the invention of the 'recitative' (musica parlante), and of the 'representative style' (stile rappresentativo) from which musical drama took its form is due. Peri and Caccini, in the Prefaces to the editions of their works, disclosed their artistic intentions, their classical dreams; and the ideas relating to the union of music and poetry were to a great extent the same that some two hundred years and more shone forth later in the mind of Richard Wagner.

Monteverdi's reform was lasting as far as regarded the technicalities of music, but musical drama in all that related to the subject of fables, to scenic developments, to poetical and moral ideals, had become quite another thing, altogether different if not degenerate from what it was at the beginning. Music also, as we shall see directly, sought and found new forms.

The transformation came about when the kind of art born between the walls of Courts, in the halls of the great, and in Academies, passed into the theatres; and princes, noblemen, men of letters, and artists, till then spectators and judges, were replaced by a mixed crowd who formed what may be called the 'paying public'. Musical drama then forsook the spirit and form that the Renaissance had given it. In the Venetian period, that arose when the Florentine one was drawing to a close, poets wrote for the lyrical stage, no longer attempting to imitate the Greeks, but with national originality, following the taste (not always good in truth) of the audience and the times. Italian in substance, they accepted from foreign theatres, especially from the Spanish, special forms. Were mythological subjects not comprehensible or acceptable to the public? The poets will then give them Roman or Greek heroes, at least in name. The action, in whatever place or time, shall be a reflection of Italian life in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance. The characters shall be those of Italian personages who shall bring on to the stage intrigue, gallantry, disguises, strange adventures, scenes of festivities, of war, of display, of blood. Are people fond of the jests of improvised comedy? The poets will introduce into the musical dramas comic persons, similar at first to those of Plautus: the nurse, the confidential servant, the swaggering soldier; later on will come real buffoons even when they cling to classical appearances, at least in names, taken from the Greek, and in the parts represented by them of satyrs and nymphs. These conditions of melodrama were partly the fault of the times, but more

still the fault of the poets.

Venice was the first to open her theatres to musical drama. And it was in the winter of the year 1637 when Andromeda, the words by Benedetto Ferrari, the music by Francesco Manelli, was given at the Theatre of San Cassiano, the property of the patrician family of Tron. Ferrari, surnamed 'of the Tiorba' from being a skilful performer on that instrument, was one of those men endowed with multiform talents of which the Renaissance affords not a few examples. He was a poet, a musician, and extremely clever in arranging theatrical shows. The singing actors were: Manelli the composer, Maddalena his wife, and five of the best choirmen of the Ducal Chapel, three of whom took women's parts, with the artificial voice attained by the well-known and barbarous custom of those times. We must not be shocked at learning that one of these was a priest. In this first opera, as in many others given in Venice and elsewhere, we find priests among the actors. Saint-Didier in his work La Ville et la République de Venise, published in 1685, wrote: 'For the rest I must also say that priests have no scruple in appearing on the stage, and in taking all sorts of parts, seeing that that is done in Rome; on the contrary the quality of being good actors gives them too that of virtuosi. On one occasion one of the spectators, recognizing a priest in the dress of an aged female, exclaimed out loud: "Look at Parson Peter acting the old woman."

The Venetians welcomed the new kind of play warmly; and from that time all through the seventeenth and the following century their theatres were famed for the number and excellence of operatic performances. Venice in the 'seicento' was sumptuous and gay, although smitten by public calamities: at the beginning of the century came the plague; then Paul V's interdict; then the war with Mantua; then the Bedmar conspiracy, and finally—a page of history at once bloody and bitter and glorious—the war of Candia. All the same the operahouses from 1637 were always open; new pieces succeeded one another; the fertile output of the composers being only equalled by the favour with which the public greeted them.

A year after the representation of Andromeda the same Benedetto Ferrari gave at the same theatre at San Cassiano another of his fables, La Maga Fulminata, with music by the same Manelli; a performance lavish in the bewildering changes of scene and fantastic machinery. Nothing has come down to us of the music of those two first operas; but of the third, given in 1639, also at San Cassiano, both the printed libretto and the manuscript score exist to this day.

This is Oratio Persiani's 'opera scenica' (and here for the first time the word opera comes in) entitled Le Nozze di Teti e di Peleo, the music by 'Francesco Cavalli, viniziano' (as one reads in the libretto).

With this work Cavalli begins his brilliant theatrical career. He wrote no less than forty-one operas, twenty-seven of which are preserved in the Marciana Library in Venice; some copies are to be found in other libraries-in Rome, in Florence, in Paris, in Viennaas we shall see further on; but a thorough and deep study of the founder of Venetian opera is only possible at the Marciana. An analytic study of Cavalli's scores (which are among the Contariniani Codices at the Marciana) was very skilfully done by Kretzschmar (Vierteljahrschr. für Mus. Wiss., 1892, Heft I). Following in the steps of Kretzschmar, my master, I will give here only a rapid review of them, adding some observations which I made after the publication of his important work. And first I will speak, always compendiously, of Cavalli's characteristic gifts, of his style, which, imitated by his followers, formed the Venetian school, and maintained for long its supremacy. From its earliest days Opera felt the contrast of two opposite tendencies, and wavered betwixt the two through the centuries, and in different countries. According to the one the drams should prevail and receive light and warmth from the music; in the other, music seeks in the drama a favourable occasion to put forth its own powers of expression, of rhythm, and of contrast. In the seventeenth century the first of these tendencies showed itself in Cavalli and his followers; the second in Marc'Antonio Cesti and his followers, much as in the nineteenth century was the case between the Meyerbeerian and the Wagnerian tendencies.

But Cavalli, although vividly powerful in dramatic expression and disposed to the severer forms of art, had special aptitude for introducing the popular element in melodrama. He felt how music ought gradually to put aside courtly forms, ought gradually to abandon polyphony and accept monody, ought to give up the madrigalesque style, so much in esteem in the Cinquecento, substituting for it the new stile recitativo with new melodic forms. Rich in noble and severe musical ideas he knew also how to find short and precise phrases, short melodic periods, determined original rhythms. Always clear and spontaneous he excels in the use of the simplest means to attain striking effects. As well in the comic as in the grave and elegiac style his melody often springs from the three notes of the perfect chord in an infinite variety of rhythm. This peculiarity is also to be observed in many of Giuseppe Verdi's melodies. The most popular airs in the Trovatore are based on the three notes of the tonic chord. There is no sign in Cavalli's compositions of that effort which can be noticed here and there in those of Monteverdi's. There is rather evidence in his MSS. of haste, almost of carelessness, seen in the handwriting, the cancellings, the corrections. We find in the autograph scores airs begun, interrupted, rewritten. But equally evident is his facility of invention, the richness of his thought, the power of his inspiration. And the school of Monteverdi is manifest in all Cavalli's operas. There are the same harmonies intended to obtain the same effects; the same sequences in some melodies; the same way of using the instruments. Some of Cavalli's instrumental pieces reach at times to heights untouched by the other Venetians. The disciple took from Monteverdi those forms known as Lamento and Combattimento, imitating them, however, with an increased refinement. Cavalli's harmony has the richness and freedom of Monteverdi's: his special merits are clearness and spontaneity, alien to all harshness; but when the intensity of dramatic expression demands it that harmony becomes learned, deep, penetrating. Cavalli keeps his recitative separate from the melodic periods, but he passes from one to the other with an unconcern and a skill all his own. His recitative is full of life and expression. Brief melodies, graceful airs, embellished by restrained flourishes break in on a declamation that might otherwise relapse into monotony, and bear witness to an admirable power of contrast. In Cavalli we find already the initial forms of the threefold air, of the Da Capo, of duets, and terzetts, which certain writers, ignorant of how much was done by Cavalli and the Venetians, held as inventions of Alessandro Scarlatti. Scarlatti is certainly a bright star on the horizon of Italian opera, but his dawn broke when Cavalli's day was setting.

Another of Cavalli's special merits, a merit that confirmed his rank as founder of the Venetian school, is that of having found the typical forms of the buffo style; forms which remained—improved and amplified if we will-always the same, first in the Venetians and afterwards in the Neapolitans. And lastly, we must admire in Cavalli the art, given to few, to delineate and to individualize the characters of the personages. He created some most beautiful musical characters, especially some female ones. To sum up, Cavalli is at his best in recitative and dramatic expression; and he is fresh and original in melody. He may perhaps be blamed for certain concessions to vulgarity when, stooping to the popular element in his solo songs and in comic scenes, he gives free course to his facile vein. They are, however, concessions to the taste of the country and to the times. For Cavalli knew perfectly well every time that the poets offered him the opportunity how to uphold in musical drama the dignity aimed at by the Florentines and by Monteverdi. He revealed himself in truth superior in great dramatic and passionate scenes, and in scenes of enchantment, frequently found in the melodrama of that day. In that respect Cavalli in the seicento held high the banner that Christopher Gluck, fighting against the abuses of composers and singers, waved a century later; the banner that was afterwards that of Gasparo Spontini, and later again that of Richard Wagner.

The following is a list of Cavalli's works which I have compiled from the most trustworthy sources, chiefly original librettos, while correcting the many errors to be found in the usual Dictionaries of Operas.

- 1. Le Nosse di Teti e di Peleo. Words by Oratio Persiani. The first representation was given in Venice (Theatre of San Cassiano) during Carnival of 1639. (The score is to be found in the Marciana Library in Venice, and in the Conservatoire of Paris.)
- Gli Amori di Apollo e di Dafne. Words by Giovanni Francesco Busenello. Theatre of San Cassiano, Venice, 1640. (Marciana Library.)
- 3. Didone. Words by G. F. Busenello. San Cassiano, Venice, 1641. (Marciana Library.)
- 4. Amore innamorato. Words by Gio. Battista Fusconi. Theatre San Moisè, Venice, 1642.
- La virtù degli strali d'Amore. Words by Giovanni Faustini. San Cassiano, Venice, 1642. (Marciana Library, and Palazzo Chigi, Rome.)
- 6. Narciso ed Eco immortalati. Words by Oratio Persiani. Theatre of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice, 1642.
- Egisto. Words by Gio. Faustini. San Cassiano, Venice, autumn of 1643. (Marciana Library; Hofbibl. of Vienna; and a copy in Munich.) According to Köchel this opera would have been written for Vienna in 1642.
- 8. La Deidamia. Words by Scipione Errico. Teatro Novissimo, Venice, 1644.
- 9. L'Ormindo. Words by Gio. Faustini. San Cassiano, Venice, 1644, in autumn. (Marciana Library.)
- La Doriclea. Words by Gio. Faustini. San Cassiano, Venice, 1645. (Marciana Library.)
- 11. Il Titone. Words by Gio. Faustini. San Cassiano, Venice, 1645.
- Romolo e Remo. Words by Giulio Strozzi. SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, 1645.
- La Prosperità infelice di Giulio Cesare dittatore. Words by Gio. Francesco Busenello. Teatro Novissimo, Venice, 1646.
- La Torilda. Words by Pietro Paolo Bissari. San Cassiano, Venice, 1648.
- 15. Giasone. Words by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini. San Cassiano, Venice,

- 1649. (Marciana Library; Modena, Naples, Vienna, Florence libraries; copy at Munich. Cavalli made a second score of *Giasone* which is preserved at Siena.)
- L'Euripo. Words by Giovanni Faustini. Theatre of San Moise. Venice, 1649.
- 17. Bradamante. Words by Pietro Paolo Bissari. Grimani Theatre (SS. Gio. e Paolo), Venice, 1650.
- 18. L'Orimonte. Words by Nicolò Minato. San Cassiano, Venice, 1650. (Marciana Library.)
- L'Oristeo. Words by Giovanni Faustini. Theatre of S. Apollinare, Venice, 1651. (Marciana Library.)
- Alessandro vincitor di sè stesso. Words by Francesco Sbarra. SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, 1651. This opera was given at Innspruck in 1662.
- L'Armidoro. Words by Bartolomeo Castoreo. S. Cassiano, Venice, 1651.
- La Rosinda. Words by Giovanni Faustini. S. Apollinare, Venice, 1651. (Marciana Library.)
- 23. La Calisto. Words by Giovanni Faustini. S. Apollinare, Venice, autumn of 1651. (Marciana Library.)
- L'Eritrea. Words by Giovanni Faustini. S. Apollinare, Venice, 1652.
 (Marciana Library, and Conservatoire of Paris.)
- 25. Veramonda l'Amazzone di Aragona. Words by Luigi Zorzisto (pseudonym of Majolino Bisaccioni, who perhaps arranged in 'a new form' a drama already formerly set to music by some other master). SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, autumn of 1652. (Marciana Library, where this opera was entered under the wrong title of Il Delio in the old catalogue. I only discovered a short time ago that it was Veramonda.)
- L'Orione. Words by Francesco Melosio. Royal Theatre of Milan, 1658. (Marciana Library.)
- Elena rapita da Teseo. Words by Giacomo Badoaro. SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, 1653.
- 28. Xerse. Words by Nicolò Miniato. SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, 1654. (Marciana Library; Conservatoire of Paris.) Xerse was given in Paris in 1662. Fétis thinks that he remembers having seen this score printed by Ballard in 1660, in 4to.
- 29. Ciro. Words by Giulio Cesare Sorentino. SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, 1654 and 1655. (Marciana Library.) Cavalli only wrote the music for the changes and additions made in 1654 in the drama, which had 'held its birth' in Naples. In 1665 Andrea Mattioli set the airs added in 1655 to music.
- Statira, Principessa di Persia. Words by Gio. Fr. Busenello. SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, 1655. (Marciana Library.)
- 31. Erismena. Words by Aurelio Aureli. S. Apollinare, Venice, 1655.
 This opera, altered as to words and music, was given anew in Venice

at the Theatre of S. Salvatore, in 1670. (The two scores are in the Marciana Library.)

- 32. Artemisia. Words by Nicolo Minato. SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, 1656. (Marciana Library.)
- Ipermnestra. Words by Gio. Andrea Moniglia. Pergola Theatre, Florence, 1658. (Marciana Library.)
- 34. Antioco. Words by Nicolo Minato. S. Cassiano, Venice, 1658.
- Elena. Words by Nicolo Minato. S. Cassiano, Venice, 1659. (Marciana Library.)
- La Passia in trono, or Caligula delirante. Words by Domenico Gisberti.
 Apollinare, Venice, 1660.
- Ercole amante. Words by Francesco Buti. Théâtre des Tuileries, Paris, 1662. (Marciana Library.)
- Scipione Africano. Words by Nicolo Minato. SS. Gio. e Paolo, Venice, 1664. (Marciana Library.) This opera was again given at the same theatre in 1678, with musical additions by Bonaventura Viviani.
- Musio Scevola. Words by Nicolò Minato. S. Salvatore, Venice, 1665. (Marciana Library.)
- Pompeo Magno. Words by Nicolò Minato. S. Salvatore, Venice, 1666. (Marciana Library.)
- 41. Coriolano. Words by Don Cristoforo Ivanovich. Ducal Theatre of Piacenza, 1669. Fétis, and Clement and other dictionaries, fix 1660 or 1669 as the dates for this opera, and say it was given in Parma. I consider the Drammaturgia of Allacci as more trustworthy, which says Coriolano was given at the Ducal Theatre of Piacenza in 1669 to celebrate the birth of Prince Odoardo Farnese. And Caffi says the same.

In Cavalli's first opera, Le Nozze di Teti e di Peleo, the manners and also the defects of the Florentines are to be seen. It is an opera rich in short instrumental pieces, among them a sinfonia infernale, and a Chiamata alla Caccia, of a Monteverdian style. I would observe here that the part of 'Teti', written for a soprano voice in a low tessitura, shows at once Cavalli's partiality for the full deep notes in a woman's voice, from which he knew how to obtain beautiful effects.

Two years later, in 1641, Cavalli gave one of his best works at the Theatre of San Cassiano, one of the most characteristic operas of the Venetian period, La Didone, the words by Giovanni Francesco Busenello. We must admit that Cavalli was not over-particular in his choice of librettos. This of Didone is one of the best which he set to music. It is also the best drama written by Busenello, the only one among the Venetian poets of that century to rise high above the general mediocrity and eccentricities of the time.

The score of La Didone belongs to those operas which we will call 'chorus-operas', to distinguish them from those which we will call 'solo-operas'. The difference is important. The chorus was an essential part of the Florentine opera, which aimed at reproducing the contemplative chorus of Greek tragedy, and of which polyphony made a wide and noble use. When melodrama was transformed and became public property the most serious consequence was the exclusion of choruses in the Venetian opera. In the few and short choral pieces of La Didone the tendency for the division of the two kinds of opera, with and without chorus, is already revealed.

The eloquence, the emotion of Cavalli's recitative makes itself felt from the very first scene of the opera: 'Aeneas, Aeneas, now is no longer time to establish hopes at the edge of the sword' ('Enea, Enea, non è più tempo di stablir speranze sulla punta alla spada'), exclaims Creusa, dismayed at the sight of the 'Unhappy Fatherland, its own furnace, self-consumed in dust and ashes' (Patria infelice, fornace di sè stessa, consumantesi in polve et in faville'). 'This piece,' says Kretzschmar, 'is the ideal of a chanted dramatic discourse, of an extraordinary elasticity of expression, perfect in its naturalness. Here we have all the nobility of recitativo secco.' In this scene the episode of the young Ascanius is also admirable, when he endeavours to hold back his father. To quote Kretzschmar again, it is 'a cantata in miniature', in which recitative alternates with melody. The song of 'Cassandra' further on is remarkable, recalling in its construction the famous Lamento di Arianna of Monteverdi, so many times taken as a model by Cavalli and other Venetian composers. It would take too long to speak of all the beauties of La Didone, but I must mention the scene in which he brings forward Sinon the Greek, the 'buffo' of the opera, a typical scene, with the clever use Cavalli makes of pure popular song. I will also mention a short 'Sinfonia navale' which accompanies the appearance of Neptune. It is a waving theme with a barcarolle movement, of graceful, I might almost say modern, simplicity.

La Virtù degli Strali d'amore, an opera written in 1642, closes the first series of Cavalli's 'chorus-operas'. In the same year he wrote Egisto for the Vienna Theatre; an opera in which he leans towards the 'solo-opera'. It abounds in duets in which we admire the variety of the characters and of rhythm. 'Night' and 'Aurora' sing in the prologue, and the music, at first full of shadows and mystery, is beautiful in the luminous harmony which describes the rising of the dawn. An admirable example of this kind of opera is Ormindo, written in 1644, and which is even richer in duets than Egisto. The one sung by 'Erisbe' and 'Ormindo', a long and varied piece, is

worthy of special notice and praise. We find in it already the recitative accompanied; we find a passacalia of exquisite fashioning, where the basso ostinato accompaniment—which must be ever varied—supports the short passionate phrases of the singers. The last part of the duet to the words 'Weep, O loves' (Piangete o amori) has melodic accents which should awake the admiration and might

arouse the envy of any composer.

In 1645 Cavalli goes back in Doriclea to choral scenes. It would seem as though the giving up of choral composition was painful to him, as it obliged him to forgo the opportunity of displaying his technical skill and imagination. Space fails me to enlarge as I would on other operas of Cavalli, but I must pause for a moment at Giasone, written in 1649, so famous in the seicento, and the only opera of Cavalli's published whole in our day, by Eitner. The libretto is by Cicognini, a poet who had more renown than worth or good taste. Too often he is insipid, grotesque, or vulgar. Cavalli's music, however, atones for the deficiency of the poetry. Of particular note are Il Lamento d'Isifile, and the scene of the enchantments in Medea. The latter is a miracle of demoniacal expression, obtained by the simplest means; a chord of E minor and of C major, and a melody based on the notes of the tonic chord. A solemn and yet agitated rhythm, and effective instrumentation, make it a model of its kind that is bound to please at any time, given a good execution. Giasone was given the first time in Venice at the Theatre of San Cassiano; at Bologna and Florence in 1652; at Naples in 1653; at Vicenza in 1658; at Ferrara in 1659; at Genoa in 1661; at Milan in 1662; again in Venice in 1666; again at Bologna in 1673. At Vienna and Munich it was given in 1650. Burney, whom we recognize as an authority on many occasions for what he wrote on Italian music, especially of the eighteenth century, shows unmixed surprise at the success of Giasone, which to him—together with all the operas of that time and kind-were, he declares, 'unpalatable'. We may add that he had not perhaps an exact idea of how Cavalli's music and that of his contemporaries should be read and executed.

We must pass quickly over the following five years, in which the indefatigable 'Maestro' wrote twelve other operas, and come to Xerse, written in 1654 for the Grimani Theatre at SS. Giovanni e Paolo—not for Paris, as Fétis has it. In this opera the short recitatives, almost dialogues, may seem here and there concerted pieces, while the solo songs, be they elegiac, or in the form of the threefold air, or according to the scheme of Carissimi's Cantatas, are lovelier than ever. These Cantatas were the delight of the lovers of chambermusic in the seicento; they refined the intelligence of the hearers, and afforded perfect models for the airs in the opera.

The scores posterior to Xerse until 1660 give clear proof of the constant evolution of musical drama, and of the new tendencies in taste and art. Recitative, formerly so noble and dramatic, no longer satisfied the public, but produced the tedium that Mazzocchi in his Preface to the Catena di Adone deplores from the first years of the century. It is the beginning of the decadence—slow, interrupted but

inevitable. Decadence, but not the nearing of the end.

In 1658, to celebrate the birth of a son of King Philip IV, the Prince Cardinal Giovan Carlo de' Medici ordered a Tourney (Combattimento) of Knights to be held in Florence 'more numerous than any other that had ever been seen at any time, and that should have the semblance of real war and of formidable assault'. Gio. Andrea Moniglia, a poet of some worth, was able to carry out the Prince's order by writing a melodrama entitled Ipermnestra. 'The composition of the drama being ended' (we read in the libretto printed in Florence for the pageant) 'it was immediately transmitted to Signor Francesco Cavallo (sic) at Venice in order that by means of his clever counterpoint he should draw from the hearts of others the most tender and moving effects that may be to be had from the words and the poetical events; and he who to-day is accounted the first composer of Italy, especially in dramatic style, with incredible swiftness sent back the composition so full of soft sweetness of style, that having, according to everyone, gained the palm over the most famous composers in his other operas, in this one he may be said to have excelled himself.'

The Ipermnestra was given with the most unbounded success at the Pergola Theatre in Florence, June 18, 1658. It is a 'chorus-opera'. The Marciana codex, an autograph, bears traces of the haste of the composition, but shows the composer's facility and spontaneity. Cavalli in these years wrote serious and gay airs and ariettas, conforming partly to the new tendencies, but in his graver moments his real self is always present, and every one of his scores bears the mark of genius. And when called on to write a big opera 'for the Majesty of Louis XIV, King of France, on his marriage in Paris in 1662' [these words are translated from the frontispiece of the Marciana Codex, Ercole amante], he holds to the 'chorus-opera', to the higher forms, to dramatic power.

Cardinal Richelieu had started and encouraged the dramatic theatre in France, and his successor Cardinal Mazarin completed the work, and established the French lyric theatre. Composers, singers, players, scene-painters, scene-shifters, were summoned to Paris from Italy, and from 1645 to 1660 Italian masters and musicians, invited by the Cardinal, were constantly travelling to Paris. Caffi says that

in those years Orfeo by Zerlino, and Xerse by Cavalli, were given in Paris. He is altogether wrong about Orfeo, but right about Xerse. In February, 1645, an opera, La Finta Pazza, the words by Giulio Strozzi, the music by Francesco Sacrati, which had been given in Venice in 1641, was given in Paris at the Hall of the 'Petit Bourbon'. But in Paris this Italian melodrama underwent considerable alterations, being reduced to a comédie à machines, partly recited, partly sung. In 1647 an Orfeo was given at the Palais Royal, not written by Zerlino as Caffi says, nor by Monteverdi, as French writers ancient and modern wrongly assert, but by Luigi Rossi to the words of Francesco Buti. And this Orfeo pleased and had a long run, though not, however, without arousing controversies among the critics and the Madame de Motteville tells how the Queen attended all the representations without ever getting tired. In 1660 the French ambassador applied to the Doge of Venice with an entreaty that on the occasion of the marriage of King Louis with the Most Serene Infanta of Spain permission should be given to Signor Francesco Cavalli, the organist of St. Mark's, 'to journey to France in order to make use of his talents on this occasion, adding, and His Maiestv desires that it may please your Highness to continue him in his office in the Church of St. Mark, with his emoluments, for the time that he will serve for this solemnity.' And the Doge replied: 'This affair is one of small moment. All shall be done for the satisfaction of His Most Christian Majesty.' In April of that year Cavalli went to Paris. But the 'Théâtre des Tuileries', which had been begun the previous year under the direction of Italian architects and was to have been ready in a year, was not finished till the end of 1662. In the meanwhile Cardinal Mazarin fell ill. The royal couple had made their solemn entry into Paris, August 26, 1660, but the intended festivities were prevented because the theatre was not ready and because of the illness of the Cardinal. It was settled in the meantime to give one of Cavalli's operas in the winter, he being at the moment in Paris. And on November 22, in the Hall of the Cariatides at the Louvre Xerse was represented. An opera without a ballet would not have been tolerated in Paris, when lo and behold, Lully, the Superintendent of Court music, the Italian to whom Frenchmen to-day would deny even his Florentine name and origin-behold Lully, the founder of French opera enters into collaboration with Cavalli, and writes the music for the ballet introduced in the scenes of Xerse, that Xerse (or 'Serse') which had appeared for the first time in a Venetian theatre in 1654! News reaches us of the success of the opera from the dispatches sent to the Doge by Alvise Grimani, the Venetian ambassador to the French Court. In them we read

that 'the King has suddenly had a large stage prepared in a hall adjoining his rooms, and has there had recited musically the opera

of "Xerse" with many ballets, at which I too was present'.

The last representation of Xerse is of special historical interest. We quote Grimani's words again: 'The Cardinal being well in health desired on the night of the Epiphany to give a banquet in his house to Their Majesties, and to many great ladies; besides the usual entertainment that is wont here to be given, the representation of Xerse in music was also given in his room, from which altogether the Cardinal has received some harm.'

Two months later Cardinal Mazarin died. And for a year King Louis had no time to think of music or ballets. But on February 7, 1662, Ercole amante, set to music by Cavalli, the words by Buti, was given at the new theatre, at last finished. For two years Cavalli had worked at the composition of this opera, which in many respects is the grandest and most complete of his operas. Grimani informs the Doge of the event as follows: 'Beside all the other things the King and Queen, Monsiù (sic) the Duke of Enghien, Madamosella (sic), the Princesses her sisters, and others of the Court appeared in a machine, with that pomp and majesty that they represent so naturally, and with so lovely a grace did they afterwards dance on the same stage, not even the Queen abstaining from dancing, although she is said to be "enceinte", but being so healthy and not having suffered last time she will not practise much reserve.' He continues in another letter: 'The King likes to hear the Opera praised, it having cost so much and being done by him; all the same French talent and taste being so different, all are not ready to praise it entirely.' It was true. Cavalli's opera did not receive proper recognition in France. Either because the Italian language was not sufficiently understood, or because the music, although written evidently with a certain regard to the manner pleasing to the French, preserved in the declamation, in the polyphony and monody, the character of Italian art; or lastly, again, because, notwithstanding their Latin consanguinity, the French often showed themselves hostile to Italian music and other Italian things. It may again have been that their national pride-praiseworthy in many cases-did not allow of their recognizing any foreign superiority, for on reading the criticisms and the accounts of the writers of that time and drawing one's own conclusions, it is clear that Cavalli's masterpiece was not understood nor appreciated in Paris at its true worth. Two centuries later, and again in Paris, the same fate befell Tannhäuser by Richard Wagner.

Cavalli returned to his lagoons, bearing gifts from King Louis, and

warmly welcomed with many honours by the Venetians. But in his inmost soul he was disappointed: such at least would appear from his letters which have come down to us; from the disinclination that from that moment he showed in assuming new engagements for the theatre; in the weakness of his last works. Scipione and Muzio Scevola have fine pages—flashes of old genius. Erismena, his last opera, without a chorus, written, or more truly re-written, in 1670 (it had been composed and represented fifteen years previously), adds no new leaf to his laurels. In the later score light airs abound with rhythmical dances, which perhaps reflect French influence. comparison between the two scores of this opera is curious. In the score of 1670 the better pieces which were in that of 1655 remain, but good pieces were replaced by others less good, and the actual new pieces are not always such as might be looked for from Cavalli. Disappointment, I said, and weariness of the theatre, not exhaustion. For the sacred compositions that he wrote in those last years of his life bear witness to the vigour and serenity of his mind. The Requiem Mass, which he wrote for his own funeral, is a final manifestation of his noble and fertile genius. Perhaps it may be asked 'Why is nothing given nowadays of Cavalli's many compositions; of this Master who is brought forward as the leader of a school, and girt with glory and renown?' I answer: It must first be considered that even music, especially opera music, is affected by the events, the taste, the fashion of the times, and that about two and a half centuries have elapsed since Cavalli's operas appeared and pleased. It is also painful, but it is also a duty to acknowledge that the oblivion into which Cavalli and other ancient masters have fallen is the result of the carelessness and ignorance of those who ought to know them and make them known. The musical MSS. of the seventeenth century and of the first half of the eighteenth century can only be properly read, understood, and executed by those who have made special studies of the subject. Unfortunately, the real and deep scholars of ancient art are but few; and one might almost say of them that they are generally voices crying in the wilderness.

Let us open one of Cavalli's scores. In it we find written the principal parts of the short sinfonie, and of the ritornelli. What do we read in it of the recitatives, and of the pieces of a regular melodic form? One or more lines, according to the number of voices for the parts sung, and below a line with the bass called 'continuo'. That 'basso continuo' is often formed of one single note through a whole bar; other times it is of several notes with some design, but one never finds notes united in a chord. That of Cavalli and other opera-writers of the seventeenth century is not the figured bass—basso numerato—

which we find in the compositions of later masters up to Gluck. No, indeed, the 'basso continuo' of Cavalli and his contemporaries has no numerical signs, or only in the very rarest cases where the interpretation of the harmony might be doubtful. Could you think that that 'basso continuo' played on the organ or the double-bass was all the accompaniment for the recitatives and melodies? No more than you could think, what unluckily only too many-masters of music among them-have thought, that upon that bass the accompanist struck on the clavichord or held on the organ only some simple and bare chord. Again, No; on the 'basso continuo' the accompanist, who was almost always the composer in person, cleverly adapted the harmony, with every kind of dissonances, and all the devices of musical learning; he wove in counterpoint, answered the themes of the song with imitations; did nearly all that in later times we see written down separately for the parts of each single instrument. Even in Cavalli's time, as formerly with the Florentines and Monteverdi, the instruments were joined to the clavichord: theorboes, lutes, small and big guitars, harps, and violins, viols 'da braccio' and 'da gamba', with now and again horns and trumpets. It certainly was not the plethoric orchestra of modern times; but those instruments, united to the small organs and to the clavichords, had quite sufficent variety of 'timbre', they obtained a full effect of sound adequate to the dramatic passages, and made an appropriate accompaniment to the voices. Little or nothing of all this appears from the scribbled MS. scores of the time. And yet those writings which may seem like riddles to the unlearned were stenographs that the 'seicentisti' knew well how to decipher, and that moderns can decipher too, if they know how to profit by the old dusty treatises and other papers buried in libraries, or stowed away in archives. Better still would it be if in the schools and colleges of music the pupils were instructed and trained in such exercises by capable and zealous masters.

No one who understands the 'basso continuo' of the seicento and its right interpretation (which I have tried thus briefly to explain) but must remain surprised at reading what Sir Hubert Parry says about it on pp. 186 and 187 of his fine work, Style in Musical Art (Macmillan, London, 1911). 'In the harmonies indicated by figured basses there is no pretence of representing anything, or presupposing contrapuntal procedure.' And again later: '... men of highest genius are the victims of their circumstances.' One of the victims would be J. S. Bach, 'the greatest master of texture of the polyphonic kind,' who was in some ways bound to accept 'a subterfuge which was an antithesis and even a negation of texture. . . . He left a vast number of arias and recitatives for solo voices in the incomplete

condition of having no accompaniment but the figured bass, or continuo, with figures to indicate in a general manner what harmonies would be required to support the voice '.

With all my respect and admiration (and they are by no means small) for Parry, as scholar and composer, I would remark that Bach was as much the victim (!) of the habit of his time as Cavalli was of his, half a century earlier. And that Bach followed that habit, and accepted that way of writing airs and recitatives, shows, it seems to me, that he was certain that no one would ever dream of executing them as they are written, and that his figured (or continuo!) bass would be suitably developed by the accompanist. (Any one desirous of minuter and weightier explanations on this subject would do well to read Hermann Kretzschmar's: Einige Bemerkungen über den Vortrag alter Musik (Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters, 7. Jahrgang, Leipzig, 1901).) Neither were the voice-parts written entire in the operas of the seicento. On the meagre scrawled outline the singer had to diminuire, vary, embellish, at the right time and place. It is said, and not without some foundation, that singers and accompanists improvised what was not written. Granted up to a certain point; but how did they improvise? The composer superintended and directed many rehearsals (exactly as is done to-day when players and singers have every note of their parts written out completely before their eyes), and when the opera was ready for the stage the so-called improvisation was a thing as well studied, well elaborated, well determined as a written part could have been. When in the middle of the eighteenth century composers began to write out the parts fully, they put on paper what before was improvised in the way I have described. All these considerations may help to explain why Cavalli's compositions are not sufficiently known and are not heard in the concerts of to-day.

On January 14, 1676, Francesco Cavalli passed from life to immortality. His ashes rest in the Church of S. Lorenzo in Venice, and we know that he was buried together with his wife, Maria Sozomeno, and two of his sisters in the tomb of his wife's uncle, Claudio Sozomeno, Bishop of Pola. No document, no inscription, however, helps to identify that tomb that we would fain see recognized and venerated. Francesco Cavalli's admirable works are however still with us. Let the young composers of to-day study them, draw from those pure sources, and build on the solid foundations of the Past an art that may help

and ennoble the Present and the Future.

TADDEO WIEL.

AN OLD ENGLISH POSITIVE ORGAN

The small pipe organs of mediæval times were grouped under the well-known titles of Positive Organs and Portative Organs. Of the latter I am not aware that any ancient examples remain, though facsimiles and reproductions, more or less representative of their originals, have been made. Illustrations, however, from the thirteenth century onward are abundant, and they show us a small instrument with a rudimentary or a more highly developed keyboard, at first purely diatonic, then with the added B flat, and finally in the fifteenth century with a perfect chromatic scale embracing a compass of nearly two octaves. The pipes were 'open', the lowest generally sounding treble G or C, and for economy of space were arranged in two rows. It has been thought by some that stops, in the form of sliders projecting from the ends of the case, were used in these little instruments; but this is very doubtful, the best and clearest illustrations showing no trace of them.

The portative was carried by the performer, suspended by a strap passing over the left shoulder and under the smaller end of the case, the longer or 'bass' end resting against the left breast. This gave freedom to both hands, and whilst with the right the player touched the keys, with his left he raised the one single-blast bellows at the back, so manipulating it that the intake of the wind accorded with the phrasing of the music as in singing. In a decorative reproduction now in the Museum of the Conservatoire de Musique at Brussels, and which originally belonged to the Tolbecque Collection, this peculiarity in the wind-supply of the portative is ignored and a small 'feeder' supplies the air to a weighted reservoir, an arrangement which was not employed in the Middle Ages, and, as we shall presently see, did not come into use until the seventeenth century when the little portative had passed away. In a few cases, however, as for instance among the fifteenth-century carvings in the nave of Manchester Cathedral, two single-blast bellows are shown: these would be raised alternately by the left hand and, falling by their own weight, would provide a more or less continuous supply of wind. Yet even so, it is most important that artists and sculptors when portraying the favourite instrument of St. Cecilia—anachronism though it be—should remember that the left hand of the performer must rest on the bellows at the back and not, as

is too frequently seen, be used as a support for the instrument, either beneath or in front. Little wonder if the face of the saint at such times wears a worried look, for—' where is the wind?'

But, with that caution, I must forgo any further remarks on this most portable little organ, which might with advantage be revived for processional use in our own day, and pass to my more immediate subject the larger, though still portable, positive organ, which from its size could not be carried about and played at the same time by one performer, but had to be 'placed' on the ground or on a car when its music was required. Not only are illustrations and allusions to the positive as plentiful as those relating to its smaller relative, but specimens of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are still in existence, and from them we can gather a very clear idea of the mechanism employed, the compass obtained, and the tone produced.

In the Victoria and Albert Museum at Kensington there is a fine example of a German sixteenth-century positive organ; but I take as my particular example an English instrument which, after many years of neglect, has at last received the care it deserves, and now stands in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury. At first sight it appears only a ruin, but enough has been preserved to enable us to reconstruct an outline of the original and to show, with the aid of some interesting historical notices, for which I am indebted to the researches of the Rev. C. E. Woodruff and Mr. Harford Battley, that it merits special attention.

The case, which is of oak, rests on a carved stand, the total height being now 4 feet 7 inches, though, allowing for the decay which has taken place where the legs touch the ground and the loss of the upper part of the instrument, it must have been originally nearly 5 feet. The width is 3 feet, the depth 2 feet 1½ inches. The front is closed by two folding doors on which are emblazoned the shield of Christ Church, Canterbury (to the right), and on the left the coat of Dean Bargrave, granted to him in 1611, viz. or, on a pale gules a sword erect argent hilt or, on a chief azure three bezants. Dr. Isaac Bargrave was appointed Dean of the Cathedral Church in 1625, and continued to hold the office till his death in 1643.

Now in the Cathedral Treasurer's Account for the year 1629 there are the following entries:

1629. Pro organis Domini Decani cum consensu Capitali emptis

Pro expensis organistæ e Londinio ad loquendum eorundem organorum xlviii•.

There can be little doubt but that these refer to the instrument

preserved in the Cathedral Library, and they tell us that the organ bought for the Dean with the Chapter's consent cost £22 (about £60 present value), and that it was purchased after consultation with a London expert, perhaps Robert Dallam or Dalham, the famous London builder of the time, who six years later was repairing an organ for the Archbishop of Canterbury. The instrument, adorned with the arms of the Dean and the Cathedral Church, was placed in the great chamber of the Deanery, for, in an inventory of the 'Goodes in ye Deanery' made about 1634, we read the following: 'In the greate Chamber—a chest of Vialls; an organ,' and in the Treasurer's Account (Lady Day, 1635) occurs the entry:

1635. 'Mendynge y° organ in y° Quiere and mendynge y° organ in y° Sermon House, and in y° Deane's greate chamber . . iv^{li} viii* x^d.'

Probably the instrument remained at the Deanery till the Commonwealth, when with the other 'kists o' whistles' it was turned out, despoiled of its pipes, and allowed to fall into decay in a disused part of the Cathedral.

On opening the folding doors an artistic inner-front, adorned with carving and with a symmetrical arrangement of pipes, would doubtless have been seen over the keys, but now both keys and front are missing; in fact, there is not a single pipe left in the whole organ. On either side of the space formerly occupied by the keyboard there are four iron levers, which formed the stop action. These levers are not set in the usual upright position in the end blocks, but project horizontally from the face of the case, one above the other, at a level below the keyboard. The sliders on which they act, are accordingly arranged vertically and immediately behind the keyboard, instead of being laid horizontally beneath the pipes. I have not observed any similar instance. The stops were divided at the semitone below middle C into treble and bass, a method which became very popular later on in the century, and for which Ralph Dallam has received the credit, he having adopted it, with a division at middle C, in the organ built by him for St. George's Chapel, Windsor (c. 1661): but it was an old idea, appearing in an English positive organ by John Loosemore of Exeter dated 1650 (now at Blair Castle, N.B., and illustrated in the writer's Old English Instruments of Music, pl. 47), in this organ of Dean Bargrave's (1629), and known in the earlier part of the sixteenth century, as witness the following entry in the Inventory of the Musical Instruments of King Henry VIII:

'Item. One paire of single Regalles with vii halfe Stoppes of pipes, of woode vernisshed yellowe and painted with blacke Rabeske woorke with a foote of wainscote unpainted wherein lieth the Bellowes; the

saide vii Stoppes are but vii Registers divided in three stoppes with a Cimball.

The valve-board, which still retains most of the old pallets, reveals the fact that there were forty-six keys which, allowing for the usual 'short octave' in the bass, would give a compass of four octaves and a note, from short octave Ba (sounding bass G) to A in alt, the upper Ga being This G compass downward, corresponding with the old gamut, was very generally in use in England during the seventeenth century, not only on the small virginals and spinets, but in the larger examples of the same class, where it was carried down an octave lower. As is well known, in our country the G compass for church organs remained in vogue till the middle of the last century at least, whereas the C compass had been universally adopted in Germany in the seventeenth century. For the upward compass to A with the omission of the G# I may refer to an illustration of a small clavichord in Prætorius's Syntagma Musicum (1620), and to that of a small organ shown by Mersenne in his Harmonicorum Instrumentorum Libri iv In the Heyer Collection at Cologne there are a regal and a cabinet organ (formerly the property of Herr Paul de Witt) with a similar arrangement of the keyboard.

The keys themselves consisted of thin slips of wood (the sharps thicker in proportion), each covering a metal pin which, passing through a close-fitting hole in the pallet board, forced open the valve when the key was depressed, a strong spring returning the valve when the

pressure of the finger was removed.

The foundation register of the organ was evidently a stopt diapason: its soundboard, which is preserved, shows that the fifteen deeper toned pipes were arranged at the back of the case, and in some instances were probably mitred. The next register was a principal, and its soundboard still tells us that the deeper pipes were of wood and placed horizontally on one another, as was sometimes done in these small organs to economize space. The lowest principal pipe, from the traces left of its position on the soundboard, was about 32 inches in length, which, allowing for a short foot, would give the sound of fiddle G (Queen's Hall pitch). The other pipes of this register seem to have been of metal, and though the soundboards of the other two registers are now wanting, no doubt they carried a twelfth and a fifteenth of metal, as usually found in these seventeenth-century instruments, some of the larger pipes, it may be, standing in the ornamental inner-front already mentioned. Such an organ as this, notwithstanding the number of its stops, would have been called in the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries a 'single organ'. There are, it is true, many explanations of the familiar terms 'single' and 'double' organs—terms, I believe, peculiar to our own country. One of the earliest was that they referred to the number of bellows employed, a single organ having one bellows (as in the portative I have already described), and a double organ possessing two or more bellows. Unfortunately, however, the detailed descriptions of these 'single' organs leave no doubt but that the usual two bellows were used for them; and how, by this explanation, can we account for the common phrase 'a single virginal', for stringed instruments require no bellows at all? Another theory is that the words refer to the number of the stops or of the ranks of pipes, a single organ possessing one stop or rank, and a double organ having several. But we have only to read the list of King Henry the Eighth's many regals to find that of his 'single' regals three had two stops, one had three, two had six half-stops, one seven half-stops, and one had four whole stops. Yet a third explanation is that the single organ had one keyboard or manual, and the double organ two; and, so far as the 'Double organs' of the middle and latter part of the seventeenth century are concerned, this explanation is probably correct; for by that time the Positive or 'Little organ' had been united to the 'Great organ', though with a separate keyboard of its own. But such double organs were not to be found in England in the sixteenth century when the terms we are discussing were most generally used; and though a clavicymbal or harpsichord with two keyboards dated 1590 has been discovered, a twomanual positive or regal is a thing unknown. Again, two of King Henry's 'double' regals had but two stops: can we suppose that they had but one stop to each manual? or that any such 'two-manual' instruments could be packed away into stuff-covered cases, as we are told they were?

The true reference of these words, 'single' and 'double', is, I am convinced, not to size or intricacy of construction, but to the pitch and compass of the keyboard. The old English gamut extended from G at the bottom of the bass stave to F on the top line of the treble. The notes of the lowest octave were designated by single capital letters, and, if the note went below the G, double letters were employed. So an organ (or virginal) in which the downward compass descended only to tenor C or bass G was called a 'single' organ because the lowest note was marked by a single letter: but if its pitch was still lower, reaching F, or bass C, or the G below, it was a 'double' organ; its lowest note being distinguished as FF, CC, or GG, according to our English nomenclature of the double octave. For this reason Dean Bargrave's organ was a 'single' organ, its compass descending only to single G: and this explanation of the term is supported by the description which Prætorius gives of the English courtal or bassoon

of the early seventeenth century; for he tells us that the instrument which had G as its lowest note was called the 'single courtal', while the larger form which descended to CC was called the 'double courtal'.

In order to avoid a mistaken reading of the Latin entry in the Cathedral Treasurer's Account quoted above, I may also point out that the plural 'organa' was then in regular use for what we should now consider one instrument, though in the phraseology of our forefathers it was called 'a pair of organs'. Mr. Abdy Williams (Musical Times, January, 1907) has stated that the plural 'organa' was used to distinguish the instrument from a peculiar method of singing called 'organum', and he quotes an old record referring to the celebrations held at the tomb of St. Robert of Lincoln, in which the organ-bearer is described as 'organa trahens' and the singers as 'organum cantantes'. But long before the rise of the vocal 'organum', St. Augustine in the fifth century found the instrument was called 'organa', probably because it seemed a complicated and multiform machine (organum).

The most peculiar feature, however, in the Dean's little organ is the position and arrangement of the wind-supply. The early method of blowing these organs was by means of a pair of single-blast bellows placed at the back of the instrument. Virdung in his Musica getutscht (1511) gives an illustration of a regal with three such bellows at the back. These were raised alternately by the hand and fell automatically under the pressure of the weights of metal or stone with which they were loaded. In the large organs as many as twenty-four singleblast bellows had to be used, if a constant and sufficient supply of wind was to be maintained. According to Prætorius, the blowing apparatus of the famous organ at Halberstadt required twenty such bellows and ten men to raise and depress them with their feet. Now, on reading his Syntagma Musicum (1618-20), we find that no allusion is made to any other form of bellows, and in his illustrations of small organs (positives, portatives, and regals), only single-blast bellows are portrayed. Assuming that the information on which he based his work was up to date, we may infer that only this form was in use in his day, at any rate in Germany. Marin Mersenne also, who published his two treatises on musical instruments—one in French and the other in Latin-in 1636, depicts only the same kind of bellows; and even in his illustration of a small organ for which horizontal instead of diagonal bellows supply the wind, they are still of the single-blast kind and raised alternately. Athanasius Kircher, too, in the many illustrations he gives in his Musurgia (1650) of all sorts of mechanism requiring wind-power, portrays only the single-blast bellows. Moreover Prætorius tells us that the smiths of his day made use of the

single-blast form, a statement which all the representations of early seventeenth-century smithies I have been able to discover corroborate. We may therefore conclude that at any rate before the year 1650 any other form of bellows was, on the Continent at least, unknown or unrecognized.

But when we turn to the Musica Mechanica Organizati of Jacob Adlung, published in 1768, we find that another kind of bellows was then in use for the smaller organs. The author of this treatise died in 1762, leaving his work, which had been begun in 1726, still in manuscript. Writing on organ bellows he says: 'You must have at least two . . ., otherwise you must apply double-bellows like the smiths have in their workshops; but these are not in fashion in large organ construction, and moreover cannot be used in it' (vol. i, § 69); and again, 'when in small positives you have but little room, you make a double-bellows, which has a continuous wind, if you keep on drawing out and pushing in one of the bellows' (vol. i, § 71). Now the difference between the double or, more correctly, double-blast bellows here mentioned and the single-blast form hitherto described is this: the two bellows are placed one on the other, the lower one, when pushed in, drives a blast of air into the upper one, making it rise, while the upper one, under the pressure of the weights resting on it, forces a steady blast into the wind-chest of the organ. The upper bellows is called the 'air reservoir', and is generally of larger capacity than the lower bellows which acts as a 'feeder' to it. In this way, by working one bellows, a fairly steady and constant supply of air can be assured. In Dom Bédos de Celles' magnificent work L'Art du Facteur d'Orques (1766-78) many examples of double-blast bellows are figured, and as an explanation of the term 'soufflets doubles' the author says 'ce sont tous ceux des petites orgues où l'on souffle soi-même avec le pied, et pour toutes celles à cylindres excepté aux grandes orgues d'église'.

Here then we have the statement of Adlung, that in the early part of the eighteenth century the smiths' forges and the smaller organs were provided with double-blast bellows, a statement which Dom Bédos confirms. But from existing examples and other sources we can refer back the date of their use many years; for they are to be seen in a claviorganum (a combination of harpsicord and organ), dated 1712, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and Mace, in Musick's Monument (1676), describes a table-organ of his own contrivance, in which (as he says) 'the bellows is laid next the ground and is made very large, and driven either by the foot of the player or by a cord at the far end'. This bellows must have been double-blast; for two cords were required to fill the two single-blast bellows, which were sometimes concealed in the case of the instru-

ment, as shown in the description of Henry the Eighth's regal previously quoted. We are also told that in some of (Father) Bernard Smith's small organs something of the same kind was used, being worked by a single pedal in front.

Now when we examine Dean Bargrave's organ we observe that, in the first place, the bellows were arranged on the top of the case above the pipes, a small wind-trunk on the right side carrying the air to the wind-chest below. I do not think that, supposing two single-blast bellows were used, they were of the horizontal shape illustrated by Mersenne in 1636 as placed above the pipes. They would probably have been of the diagonal form, that is, hinged at one end and rising wedge-shaped. Short handles would have projected from each of them to enable the blower to raise them alternately. I have observed such an arrangement on a miniature organ now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York; but the height of the Dean's organ must have rendered the exertion of blowing in this manner very wearisome and awkward, unless the blower were perched on a raised platform or high stool.

I am therefore led to believe that the bellows used in this organ of 1629 were no longer of the single-blast kind. They were doubleblast, the lower one, or 'feeder', being concealed within the case, and the upper, or 'reservoir', rising in sight above it. Dom Bédos figures just such an arrangement for a small positive or chamber-organ (Plates 81, 82), and, in order to allow more space for the feeder, some of the larger pipes are laid horizontally as in Dean Bargrave's instrument. Moreover, in the right side of the case an opening has been cut; through it the handle or cord which moved the feeder would have projected. If it was a handle, it was probably detachable, as the door which closes the opening was furnished with a lock, so that no person could play without the Dean's permission. The use of a strap or cord is thus described by Adlung: 'Sometimes instead of the blowing handle we have another method which gives more room. To the upper board of the bellows a cord is attached and above, in the top of the case, a roller is placed on which the cord can lie. In the side a hole is made, through which the cord is drawn, whereby you can raise the bellows with the hand' (vol. ii,

On a sixteenth-century organ in my own collection such improvements have been made at a later date. At the back of the instrument are traces of the wind-trunks for the two single-blast bellows originally used; but now, above the pipes, there are double-blast bellows, the feeder falling downwards inside the case by its own weight, just so as to clear the tops of the pipes, and being raised by a strap passing

over a wheel in the side of the case and pulled down by the hand from outside.

The question is, when and where did this improved form of bellows—the double-blast—originate? The date is evidently somewhere in the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century, and, at present, Dean Bargrave's organ of 1629 appears to be the earliest example in an original condition. Were they an English invention, and were they first constructed for the blacksmith's forge or in the organ-builder's workshop? Only a more extended research than I am able to give will answer these questions, for the last editions of the Encyclopædia Britannica and Grove's Dictionary of Music, as well as other standard works on organ construction, are either discreetly silent or try to veil their ignorance under vague expressions.

My subject would not be complete without a brief allusion to the general history and development of the English positive organ. Owing to the reformed ritual which dispensed with side chapels and choir processions, its use in cathedrals and large churches was no longer found necessary. But in the early seventeenth century it began to take its place as part of the large and stationary organ, becoming the choir-organ, which is still known on the continent as the Positif; and, because it was often built out in front of the organ gallery as a screen for the organist's seat, it was also called in England the 'Chayre organ'. The levers for its few stops were for some time kept quite distinct from those of the great organ, being ranged behind the player's back, an inconvenient reminder of a past independence. This practice still exists in Spain. An interesting allusion to the incorporation of the 'Little organ' into the 'Great organ' is to be found in the account of Archbishop Laud's Visitation of Lichfield Cathedral in 1634, for he requested the Chapter to improve the 'organes', and recommended 'that you do putt them both into one and make a chayre organ of them'. It seems that the organ erected by Dallam in 1605-6 at King's College, Cambridge, was one of the first instruments to possess this improvement in England.

The positive, when it still retained its position as a separate instrument, became in the later part of the seventeenth century the chamber or cabinet organ. By the kind permission of the Rev. Canon Hichens, I am able to give the description of such an organ as it now stands in the Rectory at Saltwood, near Hythe, under the care of my brother, Canon Galpin.

The panelled case is made of oak, and is 5 ft. 10 in. in height, 3 ft. 6 in. in width, and 2 ft. deep. The front is closed by two folding doors, with the large brass hinges characteristic of English workmanship at the close of the seventeenth century. The keyboard,

which slides in when not in use, has a chromatic compass from C below the bass stave to the D above the treble stave, the natural keys being black and the sharps white. On either side of the keyboard are three brass levers rising vertically from the end blocks. and over the keys is an ornamental inner-front decorated with fine carving and bearing thin slats of wood which give the effect of a rank of square wooden pipes. By the side of the stop-levers are inscribed the names of the registers, which are as follows: a stopt diapason in one stop throughout, a principal also throughout, a fifteenth divided, between alto C# and D, into treble and bass, a sesquialtera (written sexquialtera) of two ranks for the lower half of the keyboard compass, and a tierce of two ranks for the upper half. All the pipes in the organ are of wood, the larger being mitred. In the bottom part of the case are the bellows, which appear to have been altered and renewed in the eighteenth century; for the original method of blowing was by means of a short pedal projecting from the centre of the base of the instrument, and moving the diagonal feeder which bore above it a diagonal reservoir. Originally the board which divided the two, and to which they were attached, was placed horizontally; now, though the bellows are still diagonal, it is turned slantwise, an improvement which is said to have been due to German makers in order to secure a more equable pressure. A larger blowing pedal has been rendered necessary, and it lies parallel to the base of the case, as so frequently found in the eighteenth-century chamber organs. It is said that the instrument was made by (Father) Smith: it may well be so, for the construction agrees with his time, and the German H for B flat appears on the pipes. The tone is very sweet and mellow in the three principal stops, but the compound stops (especially the tierce), under our modern conditions of equal temperament, are almost unbearable.

A word in conclusion on an improvement made in England during the eighteenth century in the blowing apparatus of these small organs. I have already referred to the peculiar shape of the single-blast bellows depicted by Mersenne in 1636, though the idea is as old as the ancient civilization of Egypt. In this form of bellows known as soufflets en lanterne in France, the upper board is not hinged to the lower but rises parallel to it as the bellows are drawn up. We now call them horizontal bellows. Dom Bédos in 1778 thus refers to them: 'On ajoute ici que cette manière de soufflets peut être employée avec beaucoup d'avantage pour les grandes orgues où l'on n'aurait pas assez d'espace pour placer des soufflets ordinaires.' And in our modern large organs this plan has been generally adopted, the air reservoir being always of the horizontal kind and its upper

board weighted with lead or iron. But in the double-blast bellows used for the organs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the reservoir, like the feeder, was, as we have seen, of the diagonal kind, and M. V. Mahillon, the learned Curator of the Museum of the Conservatoire de Musique at Brussels, when describing in the catalogue a cabinet organ made by Binvignat of Maestricht in 1798 (vol. ii, p. 359), in which the air reservoir is of the horizontal shape, writes thus: 'It is therefore wrong to attribute to this form of bellows an English origin, which cannot be traced back beyond the commencement of the nineteenth century.' I have, however, found the horizontal reservoir, to which he alludes, used not only in a cabinet organ by Avery, dated 1792, which forms part of my own collection, but also in a chamber organ made by Samuel Green in 1777, who adopted for several of his instruments the suggestions made by a poor clockmaker named Cumming in a pamphlet printed in 1762. It is interesting to notice, too, that in the earlier part of Dom Bédos's work on organ construction, published in 1766, no mention is made of the horizontal reservoir; in the last part (Part 4), however, issued much later (in 1778), not only is there the allusion to the soufflets en lanterne already quoted, but in Plates 131 ff. illustrations are given of a claviorganum 'imaginée et executée à Paris par M. Lepine, facteur d'orgues du Roi', for which a diagonal feeder with a horizontal reservoir supplies the necessary wind. I think, therefore, that there is still every reason to believe that the adaptation of Mersenne's single-blast lantern bellows to the requirements of the horizontal reservoir was due, either knowingly or unconsciously, to an English source.

With the introduction of the free reed into Europe and the manufacture of æolophones, seraphines, and harmoniums, even the successors of the positive failed to hold their own; and when the American instrument appeared, glorious in its assumed name of organ, the sweet pipings which delighted our forefathers were to be heard no more. Like Dean Bargrave's once costly instrument, they have been relegated to the appreciation of antiquaries.

FRANCIS W. GALPIN.

STUDIES IN THE TECHNIQUE OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC

(Continued from Vol. III, p. 194)

SCALES OF E CONTINUED.

Third or Phrygian Mode continued.

The conditions which give rise to the peculiar characteristics of the Phrygian harmony tend also to produce a certain freedom of treatment which renders the closes in this mode more varied perhaps and more interesting than in any other. Before passing on, therefore, it may be well to give a few additional specimens in illustration of Phrygian methods of closing. From these it will be seen that the composer sometimes abandons the authentic cadence, and is content with the plagal alone. It is also to be observed that in such cases the penultimate passage of the composition is usually much extended and enriched, and is not infrequently supported by a long holding note in one of the voices, generally the tenor.





SCALES OF E CONTINUED.

The Hypophrygian or Fourth Mode.



This mode, like the Hypodorian, is not of suitable range for trebles and tenors, and is often transposed. When it is used in situ the treble is seldom allowed to go below D, and its upward range is generally extended to C. Thus it is often difficult to distinguish this mode from its principal, in which composers not infrequently restrict their upper range to C, and allow themselves to take D below, or even C, as has been already said. But composers, in setting, are sometimes content that only one of the usual four parts, instead of two, should be in this mode; ¹ and this helps to smooth the difficulties caused by the range of the mode.

¹ In an authentic mode the tenor and treble parts are supposed to be written in the authentic form of the scale, the alto in the plagal, and the bass in both; in a plagal composition the plagal scale is to be found in the treble and tenor, and the authentic in the alto, while the bass again sings in both.

We shall notice in the following examples a persistent tendency towards A, the dominant of this mode, which is very characteristic; and by a tendency towards A is meant not merely a tendency to cadence on A when a cadence is required, for that is characteristic often of Mode iii, but rather a tendency to the scale of A; and so much so that a composition in this mode often produces for a time the effect of one in the Æolian, and is sometimes only distinguishable from it by its final cadence. But it is not necessarily quite like the Æolian, for while that need not always be sad this can never properly be cheerful. All its most characteristic phrases are expressive of pain, weariness, eager beseeching, and despair. Yet from the opportunities which it offers, both in its religious and secular aspects, it has always been a favourite with composers, and a large number both of motets and madrigals have been written in it. In its purely secular aspect it was made to include, according to Zarlino, the ideas connected with tranquillity, rest, and quiet, and also, probably when applied to love affairs, those of adulation, fraud, and detraction; 'and from this no doubt arose the practice among composers (says the theorist) of naming it the adulatory mode. Yet this mode is sadder, by far, than its principal; especially when the voice proceeds from above downwards, in long notes, with contrary movement.' It would appear that some difference of opinion existed with regard to the treatment of the B in this mode, and Zarlino gives us the benefit of his judgement in the matter. 'I believe,' he says, 'that if the B be used simply, without attempting a full close, but cadencing on A instead, you would have something much more virile as a result than would he who has taken the opposite course.'



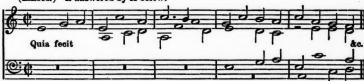
FUGAL OPENINGS.

On E, answered in the upper octave.



This example, which is from Zarlino, might perhaps have been expected to illustrate the opinions of that writer with regard to the treatment of B in this mode; instead of this, however, he seems to adopt the purely theoretical view. The theorists held it possible to cadence on B in this mode—perhaps because it is the limit of the range—but though, as is seen above, it is possible to do this in two parts, it was never attempted in serious composition, since the proper harmony cannot be filled in.





(Lassus.) E answered by A below.



The principal closes in this mode, beside the Final, are upon the Dominant A and the Mediant G; sometimes C appears, but not often. The following examples illustrate (1) a plagal cadence upon the Dominant (an unusual modulation), and (2 and 3) the use of the long pedal upon the final note.



We may conclude our examples of Mode iv with a short movement, in full score, by Josquin des Pres, which well displays the mode, and at the same time exhibits the musical methods at the close of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth. It will be observed that the fugal opening, though not unknown, has not yet been recognized as the most elegant and logical method for beginning a composition of any weight. Instead of this, a careful and somewhat dry counterpoint has been substituted, but it will be seen that practically there is no subject at all. The words too are not yet to be found in their right places, but are roughly distributed among the notes. Comparatively late in date as this composition must have been, it is evident that much still remains to be done before the finished music could be put forth.



SCALES OF F.

Fifth or Lydian Mode.

'Examples of this mode,' says Glareanus, 'are the rarest of all among the works of the composers, who moreover do not use it correctly. Yet their themes are drawn, for the most part, from the music sung in the choir in churches; this, however, is no safeguard against error, since frequently also the music itself is corruptly sung in the choir.

'The cause of this we have fully explained in a former volume, where also we have displayed the double use of this mode—one, the oldest, ranging between F and e, where the upper semitone of the scale is wanting, and the other, where the entire octave, from F to f, is included; the latter use is the more agreeable, especially if the B¤ of the scale be changed to BÞ, and rare is the song that does not in some place wrest diezeugmenôn to synemmenôn for the sake of it.'

The qualities and emotional effects supposed by the theorists to characterize this mode, form a complete contrast to those of the last which we examined. In place of the pain, weariness, and anxiety that belong to Mode iv, the fifth Mode brings to the mind a modest joy and relief from haunting care. But this seems to have been the old view. In the fifth Mode the ancients perceived something triumphant, something fit for the celebration of a victory, such an occasion, in short, as would give rise to joyous and delightful effects. But the later composers took a different view; for Zarlino, thinking of his own time, says: 'Many melodies are to be found in the ecclesiastical books which contain the form of this mode, but they are not much in use among the modern composers, to whom they appear as harder and rougher in their effects than any others.'

It will be observed that the corrupt Lydian scale, referred to above, is created by the addition of a b to the B of the true scale, at once producing the scale of the Ionian transposed. It is true that the consequence of this is a constant avoidance of the false relations between B‡ and F; yet it is not the less true that a frequent recourse to this indulgence was one of the contributing causes helping eventually to destroy the modal system.¹

The regular modulations are F, the final, A, the mediant, and C, the dominant.

¹ The theorists Zarlino and Zacconi both blame this practice, but admit that the difficulty caused by the B# is often insuperable.





SCALES OF F.

Sixth or Hypolydian Mode.



This mode is said by the old writers to have been made considerable use of by the ecclesiastics, as its principal was, greatly: 'for in their

books, they say, are found many melodies composed in the Hypolydian which they say are neither very elegant or very brilliant, but which, however, they use in pieces of a grave and devout character, accompanying them with words which contain matter for tears. So much so, that they call it the devout and tearful Mode. Yet not like the Second Mode, which is rather funereal and calamitous than otherwise.'

Like most Plagal Modes the Hypolydian partakes largely of the character of its principal; naturally, therefore, its chief openings and cadences are upon the regular Lydian modulations, C, A, D, F. The details are probably similar in character to those already shown, but the existing compositions are too few to enable us to illustrate these modes with the same methods as hitherto. Probably, however, in the circumstances, the examples in two-part writing will be found more useful than anything else that could be offered in forming an idea of the treatment of these two modes.





H. E. WOOLDRIDGE.

NOTES ON THE FERRABOSCO FAMILY

(Continued from Vol. III, p. 228.)

SINCE the publication of the last number of the MUSICAL ANTIQUARY I have been able to obtain copies of the original letters referring to Alfonso Ferrabosco I, preserved among the Pepys MSS. I am indebted to the kindness of the Librarian, Magdalene College, Cambridge, for the copies; and to the College authorities for permission to use them.

I. SEBASTIANO BRUSCHETTO TO BENEDETTO SPINOLA, LONDON.

Molto Mageo Sor mio ossmo.

Le ultº di V. S. furono de vi di Maggio, alle quali per uia di Vinetia io feci risposta, et gli dissi quanto sino allhora mi occorreua circa le comissioni datemi a nome di S. Eccª; Il dipoi seguito è questo, che del Ferrabosco habbiamo buona speranza di ritornarlo a servitio di S. Mta, et questo per mezo del Sor Gurone, il quale hauendo destramente gettato qualche motto con un gentilhuomo del Carle Farnese, lo riferi in modo, che al giouane è uenuto un grandisso desiderio di tornar a quella seruitu. Ma perche il Carle lo hebbe in raccomanda dal Padre, il quale per adesso nonsi truoua in Roma, forse non seguirà con tutta quella prestezza che si desidera; uero è che il Carle ha dato meza intentione di lasciarlo ire, et la difficultà restara solamio nel Padre; ma io penso che sin aquest' hora sia fatto il piu, et se la nuoua arriuaua un poco piu per tempo, facilio s' accompagnaua insieme col Cauallarizzo, che fra quattro di se ne parte per Inghilterra, come l' estesso Ferrabosco desideraua; credo che uerrà con il medesimo stipendio di prima; come V. S. uedrà meglio per la lettera del Sor Gurone scritta a mio Padre.

Di Roma, Alli xiij di Giugno. M.D.LXIIIJ.

D. V. S. Affett^{mo} Ser^{to}
Sebasto Bruschetto.

Il Sor Gurone non ha scritto circa il Ferrabosco come io pensauo douesse fare, et però questa mia supplica per questa uolta sendo confermata da lui io scrissi à V. S. per le ulto mie che rimettesse cinquanta v qui per il Sor per altritanti che da lui si doueano sborsare, et come hauea animo di fare, ma non gli essendo tornato comodo per qualche bisogno straordo sopragiontigli siamo ricorsi dalli Sigri

Pallauicini quali ci scriuirano di detta soma come apparira per la riceuuta che si mandarà al Sor suo Frello.

Endorsed

Al molto Mag^{oo} S^{or} mio oss^{mo} Il S^{or} Benedetto Spinola Londra, xiij junii 1564.

ınii 1564. Sebastiani Bruschetti. in another hand.

II. SEBASTIANO BRUSCHETTO TO BENEDETTO SPINOLA, LONDON.

Molto Mageo Sor mio ossmo.

Cinque di fa scrissi à V.S. per l'ordrio; d'allhora in qua non è quasi occorso altro circa quel tanto che per essa mia gli dissi, onde sarò con lei tanto piu breue: Solamte circa il Ferrabosco gli ho a replicare, che o sia stato che il giouane si sia mostrato troppo uolontoroso a partirsi dal Carle et però habbia dato sospetto di esser subornato dal S^{or} Gurone, o che altro si sia, non solam^{te} si è alterato con esso giovane, ma ancora con il S.G., benchè in uero a torto; Perche come Gentilhuomo prattico delli costumi de' Sig^{ri}, e andato molto circonspetto, et prima che al giouane facesse motto, hauea parlato a l'istesso , anzi per tal rispetto mi fece intratener piu di diece giorni una lettera scritta al Ferrabosco dal Sor Frello di V.S. Talche sin qui non sappiamo quato sia per seguire circa la sua uenuta costa, mass^{te} che anco il Sor G. sta sopra la sua, et poco se ne cura della colera del Carle ne servitij di S. Mia, come ancora per non l'hauer meritata. V. S. sapra che essendosi riscaldati l' uno e l' altro sopra questo, al Carle uenne detto che anch' egli hauea ben il modo d' intratener questo giovane, et che in fine il danaro, ne li guadagni no correuano di pnte si ampiam^{te} ne in Inghilterra, ne in la Corte et che non accedeua mettersi speranze si larghe; questo ho voluto dire, per auisare quel che di qua si sente talhora delle cose d' Inghilterra; [etc.].

Di Roma

alli 17 di Giugno M.D.LXIIIJ.

D. V. S. Affett^{mo} Ser^{to} Sebast^o Bruschetto.

III. SEBASTIANO BRUSCHETTO TO BENEDETTO SPINOLA, LONDON.

Molto Mageo Sor mio Prone ossmo.

Se il Cauallarizzo non compare di là così presto, come e l'aspettatione di S. Ecca et di V. S., la non se ne marauigliarà; saprà adonque, che la sera istessa inanzi che s' hauea a partire (che fa hoggi sei di) uenne arrestato da uno, a chi si era uenduto un cauallo per mezo suo: Costui si lamenta che il cauallo è bolzo, e ad ogni modo uuol esser reintegrato dal Cauallarizzo, dicendo hauerlo preso sopra la parola sua, ne uuol

hauer a fare con il patrone; So, come ancora il Sor Gurone, pensa che la cosa nasca da altro capo, perche il Carle Farnese, si come scrissi à V.S., si era alterato un poco con esso Sor Gurone per conto del Ferrabosco, et uedendolo star sopra la sua (come inuero ha ragione) forse ha pensato di fargli questa burla di far trattenere il Cauallarizzo per questa uia, e poi metterla in risa; Sia come si uoglia, il Sor Gurone ha disegnato, prima che M. Claudio perda tempo qui, di restar lui obligato ad ogni euento della lite, et di mandarlo uia quanto piu presto, che al piu longo sarà sia cinque, o, sei di, et insieme il Ferrabosco seco, ma secretam^{to}, perche se bene ha hauuto licenza dal Carle, non ha però detto di uoler esser in Inghilterra, anzi dà intentione di tornarsene a Bologna a Casa sua. [etc.]

Di Roma, Alli xxiiij di Giugno M·D·LXIIIJ.

D. V. S. Affett^{mo} Ser^{te} Sebast^o Bruschetto.

IV. [PETRUCCHIO] UBALDINO TO THE QUEEN.

Sacra Serma Mth.

Perche a i giorni passati io haueua promesso à m. Claudio Cauallerizzo, et à m. Alfonso Ferrabosco, d'esser contento di recitare ad una piaceuol Comedia Italiana; per compiacere alla Mta Vra: Et non si trouando di poi altri, che tre ò quattro, che fusser contenti d'accettar tal carico; ho voluto che l'Altezza Vra conosca da me stesso il pronto animo, ch'io ho per la mia parte di seruirla, et di compiacerla in ogni attione, che mi sia comandata, ò da lei, ò in suo nome, non solamente come seruitore giurato, ch'io gli sono; ma come desiderosiss: di far conoscere, che la diuotione, ch'io porto alle sui Reali qualità, supera ogn'altro rispetto; desiderandogli io contentezza, et felicità non meno, che qualunque altro suo seruitore gli desideri: la cui bontà Dio ci prosperi. ecc.

Di V. S. Sera. Mth.

Endorsed

To Q. Elizabeth:
Ubaldino, an Italian
Musitian, I suppose.

The last of these letters would be more interesting if it was dated. I suppose it must have been written during one of Alfonso's visits to England. Petrucchio Ubaldino, the writer of it, was attached in some capacity to Queen Elizabeth's court, but there is no proof, I think, that he was a musician, as Nagel conjectures and Eitner asserts. It is worth noting in connexion with Alfonso's interest in the production of an Italian comedy, that he was concerned in the preparation of a masque in 1572, and took a part in it. See Feuillerat's Documents

relating to the Office of the Revels, where the following entries are found:

- (p. 159). June 1572; expenses for a Masque at White Hall before her Maiestie and Duke Mommerancie Embassador for ffraunce. iij paier of Buskins one being cloth of golde for Allphonse the other ij of Caffa at xx⁴ the paier with theer solling lether.
- (p. 160). Haunce Eottes for drawing and paynting of dyvers & sundry patternes (viz.) of the Chariott & mownte (which Rose made) with all the personages apparell and Instrumentes . . . at the request & apoyntment of Mr Alphonse & thofficers as by his bill x¹¹ xv² reduced by thofficers to iiij¹¹ xix²

We may now return to complete the catalogue of Alfonso I's compositions existing in MS.

It is only lately that it has become possible to distinguish the elder Alfonso's sacred music from that of his son. There is however a MS., now in the Lenox Library, New York, which was first described by Dr. Hugo Botstiber in the Sammelbände of the Internat. Musical Society, 1902-3, which assigns certain Motets to Alfonso Ferabosco 'il padre', and others to 'il figliuolo'.¹ I am convinced that this MS. is to be trusted, and I accept its division of the Motets which it contains between the father and son: a division which is supported to some extent by the grouping of these Motets in other MSS., and (where I have been able to test them) by the internal evidence of style.

In making the following list, I have entered the different parts of any Motet under separate headings, when a Motet is divided into two or more parts. I have used the following abbreviations in referring to Libraries:

London. B.M. = British Museum; R.C.M. = Royal College of Music; Buck. Pal. = Buckingham Palace.

Oxford. Bodl. = Bodleian Library, which also contains the Music School Collection (Mus. Sch.); Ch. Ch. = Christ Church.

Cambridge. Fitzw. = Fitzwilliam Library; P.H. = Peterhouse.

Tenbury = St. Michael's College; N.Y. = Lenox Library, New York; G.A. = a Bass part book in my Library.

MS. SACRED MUSIC BY ALFONSO FERRABOSCO I.

Ad Dominum cum tribularer, a 5. Bodl. MS. Mus. f. 1-6; Tenbury (S.S.S.A. only); Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 468-7.

Afflictus sum, a 6. N.Y.

¹ My thanks are due to Prof. Charles E. Pellew, of New York, for making for me a thematic list of these Motets.

Agmus Dei, a 5. B.M. Add. MSS. 18986-9, one part missing, fragment without words from a Mass.

Benedicam Dominum, a 6. (Pt. I.) B.M. Add. 29388-92, wanting Cantus; Tenbury, S.S.S.A.A.; R.C.M., Lute arrangement.

Benedic anima mea Domino, Domine Deus, a 5. (Pt. I.) Ch. Ch. 78-82; Tenbury, Treble only; G.A., Bassus only. (Anonymous in all these MSS., but other Parts of this Psalm have A.F.'s name.)

Cantabo Domino, a 6. Canon per diapason et diatesseron. (Pt. XI of Benedic anima, q.v.) N.Y.; Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 468-7.

Cantate Domino, a 5. (Pt. I.) Ch. Ch. 78-82; Tenbury, S. only; R.C.M., Lute arrangement.

Confiteantur Tibi, a 6. (Pt. II of Deus Misereatur, q.v.)

Conserva me, a 5. (Pt. I.) Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 468-7; Tenbury, S.A.T.B. only.

Credo quod Redemptor, a 6. Bodl. MS. Mus. f. 1-6; B.M. Add. 29388-92, wants Cantus; Add. 81417, A. and T. only.

Da pacem, a 6. N.Y.; Tenbury, S.S.A.T.T. only; B.M. Add. 31417 (A. and T. only).

De Lamentatione, a 5. Ch. Ch. 78-82, and 463-7, and 979-88, wanting Tenor; Tenbury (twice, one set giving S.A.T.T. only); Bodl. MS. Mus. Sch. C. 45-50 has beginning only (i.e. to end of Daleth).

Decantabat populus, a 6. N.Y.

Deo Patri sit gloria, a 6. Canon in subdiapente et subdiapason. (Pt. II of O Lux, q.v.)

Deus misereatur, a 6. (Pt. I.) B.M. Add. 31417 (A. and T. only).

Domine non secundum, a 6. N.Y.; B.M. Add. 81992 (Lute).

Draco iste, a 5. (Pt. IX of Benedic anima mea, q.v.) Ch. Ch. 78-82; Tenbury, Treble only; R.C.M. (Lute).

Ecce enim, a 6. (Pt. II of Tibi soli, q.v.) N.Y.

Emittes spiritum, a 5. (Pt. X of Benedic anima mea, q.v.) Ch. Ch. 78-82 (anon.).

Exaudi Deus deprecationem, a 6. (Pt. II of Timor et tremor, q.v.)

Exaudi Domine, a 6. (Pt. I.) N.Y.; B.M. Add. 31417 (A. and T. only).

Extendens Cælum, a 4. (Pt. II of Benedic anima mea, q.v.)

Fac mecum signum, a 7. Canon in diapente. (Pt. VI of Inclina Domine, q.v.)

[Fuerunt mihi lacrimæ, a 4, is probably by Alfonso II, with whose works I have placed it.]

Gustate et videte. (Pt. II of Benedicam Dominum, q.v.)

Heu mihi Domine, a 6. N.Y. [Probably identical with B.M. Add. 81417 (A. and T. only).]

Heu mihi Domine quia peccavi, a 5. Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 463-7; Tenbury (S.A.T.T. only); B.M. Add. 31417 (A. and T. only); G.A., Bass only.

Hierusalem plantabis vineam, a 7. Canon in subdiatesseron. B.M. Add. 81417 (A. and T. only).

In die tribulationis, a 5. (Pt. IV of Inclina domine, q.v.)

In Monte Oliveti, a 6. Printed in Lindner's Sacræ Cantiones, Noribergæ, 1585. N.Y.; R.C.M. (Lute); B.M. Add. 29388-92 (wanting Cantus), and 30861-6, and 30810-5, and 31992 (Lute).

Incipit Lamentatio, a 6. N.Y.

Inclina Domine, a 6. N.Y.; Tenbury (S.A.T.T. only); B.M. Add. 29388–92 (wanting Cantus) and 31417 (A. and T. only); R.C.M. (Lute). [The other parts of this Motet are in B.M. 31417 only.]

Ingemuit Susanna, a 5. Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 468-7; Tenbury (S.S.S.A. only); Bodl. MS. Mus. Sch. C. 45-50.

Judica me, a 5. (Pt. I.) Ch. Ch. 78–82; Bodl. MS. Mus. f. 1–6; B.M. Add. 31992 (Lute).

Mirabile misterium, a 5. Ch. Ch. 78-82, and 463-7, and 984-8; Bodl. MS. Mus. f. 1-6; MS. Mus. Sch. E. 423 (Tenor only); Tenbury (A.A.T.T. only); R.C.M. (Lute).

Miserere mei, a 3. (Pt. II of Inclina Domine, q.v.)

Miserere nostri, a 5. Buck. Pal. (one page in score).

Ne derelinquas me, a 6. N.Y.

Nuntium vobis, a 5. Ch. Ch. 78-82; Bodl. MS. Mus. f. 1-6; G.A. (Bass only).

O Lux beata, a 6. (Pt. I.) Printed in Lechner's Harmoniæ Miscellæ, Noribergæ, 1583; and in Schadæus's Promptuarii Musici, Argentinæ, 1618.

O remember not our oulde syns, a 6. Ch. Ch., wanting Bass. Described as by A.F. 'Senior'. ? whether identical with O remember not in N.Y., without name, Botstiber, p. 748.

O vos omnes, a 6. Printed in Lindner's Sacræ Cantiones, 1585. B.M. Add. 30361-6, and 29388-92 (wanting Cantus), and 31417 (A. and T. only); Lute MSS., B.M. Add. 31992; and R.C.M.

Peccantem me quotidie, a 5. Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 463-7; B.M. Add. 29872-7; Tenbury (twice; i. complete; ii. S.A.A.T. only); R.C.M. (Lute).

Plorans ploravit, a 6. B.M. Add. 31417 (A. and T. only). Part of a Lamentation.

Posuisti tenebras. (Pt. VII of Benedic anima mea, q.v.) Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 463-7, both anonymous.

Praise him on tube. ? a 5. (Pt. I.) One part book missing. B.M. Add. 18986-9.

Quam magnificata, a 3. (Pt. VIII of Benedic anima mea, q.v.) Ch. Ch. 78-82.

[Quare dereliquerunt me, a 4. Probably by A. F. II, among whose works I have entered it.]

Quia beneplacitum, a 5. (Pt. II of Cantate, q.v.)

Qui emittis, a 5. (Pt. IV of Benedic anima mea, q.v.) Ch. Ch. 78-82; Tenbury (Treble only); R.C.M. (Lute).

Qui fundasti, a 5. (Pt. III of Benedic anima mea, q.v.) Ch. Ch. 78-82; Tenbury (Treble only); G.A. (Bass only).

Quoniam declinaverunt. (Pt. II of Exaudi, q.v.)

Quoniam magnus es, a 6. (Pt. V of Inclina Domine, q.v.)

Quoniam Tu Domine, a 4. (Pt. VIII of Inclina Domine, q.v.)

Rigans montes, a 4. (Pt. V of Benedic anima mea, q.v.) Ch. Ch. 78-82 (anon.).

Salva me Domine, a 6. Buck. Pal. (no words).

Salva nos Domine, a 6. N.Y.; B.M. Add. 81417 (A. and T. only).

Saturabuntur ligna, a 5. (Pt. VI of Benedic anima mea, q.v.) Ch. Ch. 78-82 (anon.).

Surge propera (Pt. I) and Surge propera (Pt. II)

(Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 463-7; Tenbury (S.S.A.T. only). I assume this to be by A. F. 'Senior', as the contents of Ch. Ch. 78-82 are not by A. F. 'Junior'.

The gladsome sound of silver bells. (Pt. II of Praise Him, q.v.)

Tibi soli, a 6. (Pt. I.) N.Y.

Timor et tremor, a 6. (Pt. I.) Printed in Lindner's Sacræ Cantiones, 1585. N.Y.; B.M. Add. 29388-92 (wanting Cantus), and 31417 (A. and T. only), and 31992 (Lute).

Tribulationem et dolorem, a 5. Ch. Ch. 78-82 and 984-8. (A. F. Junior has also a Motet beginning with these words.)

Ultimi me, a 6. Buck. Pal., without words.

Vias tuas, a 5. (Pt. II of Conserva me, q.v.)

Vias tuas, a 5. Bodl. MS. Mus. Sch. E. 423 (Tenor only); Buck. Pal., without words.

Vide humilitatem, a 5. (Pt. II of Judica me, q.v.)

There are also many anonymous motets which are found in several MSS. in company with works by the elder Alfonso, some of which may eventually prove to be his. I have not, of course, ventured to insert any as being by him, except in the case of the eleven parts of *Benedic anima mea*, which only occur consecutively in the Christ Church MS. (they are there anonymous), and though some parts of this Psalm are not found elsewhere, other parts are found in several MSS. which give Alfonso's name. I believe the Christ Church MS. (78–82) to be largely if not entirely filled with Alfonso's work, but no composer's name is given in the MS., and therefore only those compositions may be catalogued which can be identified elsewhere.

Alfonso Ferrabosco II was the son of Alfonso I, and was probably one of the children left behind in England on his return to Italy in 1584. The younger Alfonso died in March, 1627-8: he belongs therefore as a composer to the first quarter of the seventeenth century. At the present day he is chiefly remembered as the writer of the music to some of Ben Jonson's Masques, but in his own lifetime he was famous as a performer on the Lyra-Viol, and as a composer of 5- and 6-part Fantasias. He published a book of Lessons for the Lyra-Viol in 1609, and a large number of instrumental pieces exist in MS. in the

chief musical libraries of England. An Aria by him is printed in Simpson's Taffel Consort, Hamburg, 1621.

A volume of Ayres (containing several songs from Ben Jonson's Masques) was published by Ferrabosco in 1609, the same year that produced the Lessons. Examples of these are to be found in Burney's *History* (iii, pp. 141-2 and 354), but without their Lute accompaniment.

He contributed three sacred part-songs to Leighton's Teares in 1614: 'In Thee O Lord' a 4; 'O Lord come pity' and 'In death no man' a 5. A sacred song with Viol accompaniment, 'Hear me O God' (a setting of Ben Jonson's words) is in B.M. Add. 29372-7, which at Christ Church is called a 'Pavan of Four Notes'. At Peterhouse, Cambridge, is an imperfect copy of a verse anthem, 'Have ye no regard,' which is entered in the Chapel Royal word-book of 1635 as by Alfonso. At Peterhouse also is a single treble voice-part of a 'Holy, holy', which may be by Alfonso, or possibly by John Ferrabosco of Ely. There is also a puzzling composition at Christ Church, Oxford—a 4-part 'Say God should send', by 'Ferabosco'. This is probably an adaptation of a madrigal to sacred words, like the other pieces in this particular MS. It may be by Alfonso II.

Alfonso Ferrabosco's Motets are perhaps his most important compositions. These have always been overlooked by historians, because they have always been attributed to his father. Now however it is possible, at least to some extent, to distinguish between the writings of the two composers. The work of the elder Alfonso strikes one as being learned but rather dry, and it was thought to be so even in his own day. Peacham, in his Compleat Gentleman, says that 'for judgment and depth of skill he was inferior to none: what he did was most elaborate and profound, and pleasing enough in Aire, though Master Thomas Morley censureth him otherwise'; and the modern reader will probably agree with Morley in his criticism. The second Alfonso belonged to a younger generation, and while his motets are written with a less rigid adherence to the rules of the purest modal counterpoint (as is to be expected at the period when he wrote), he is in some ways the more attractive composer, and when set beside Philips or Dering (who are the writers with whom he may be most fairly compared) he will be found to hold his own. A motet is printed below as a specimen of his work from B.M. Add. 29372-7.

MOTETS BY ALFONSO FERRABOSCO II.

Convertere Domine, a 5. (Pt. II of Ego dixi, q.v.)

Domine Deus meus, a 5. (Pt. I.) N.Y., B.M. Add. 29366-8 (C., B. and Q. only). Ego dixi Domine miserere, a 5. (Pt. I.) N.Y.; B.M. Add. 29372-7 and 29366-8 (C., B. and Q. only).

Ego sum Resurrectio, a 5. N.Y.; B.M. Add. 29366-8 (C., B. and Q. only).

Fortitudo mea, a 5. N.Y.

Fuerunt mihi lacrimæ, a 4. B.M. Add. 29372-7; Ch. Ch. 463-7 and 880 (Tenor only). [Probably by A. F. II.]

Incipit Lamentatio, a 5. N.Y.

Laboravi in gemitu, a 5. N.Y.; Ch. Ch. 463-7.

Libera me, a 5. (Pt. II of Ubi duo vel tres, q.v.)

Noli me projicere, a 5. (Pt. II of Domine Deus, q.v.)

O Domine, a 5. N.Y. (no words).

O Nomen Jesu, a 5. N.Y., B.M. Add. 29872-7 and 29866-8 (C., B. and Q. only).

Quare dereliquerunt me, a 4. B.M. Add. 29872-7 and 29866-8 (Q. and B. only). [Probably by A. F. II.]

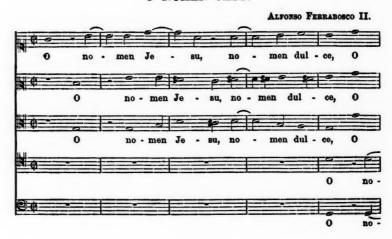
Rorate cœli, a 3. (1 and 2 Treble and Bass) Ch. Ch. 623-6.

Sustinuit, a 5. N.Y.

Tribulationem et dolorem, a 5. N.Y.

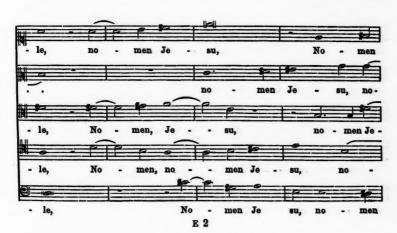
Ubi duo vel tres, a 5. N.Y.; B.M. Add. 29366-8 (C., B. and Q. only).

O NOMEN JESU.

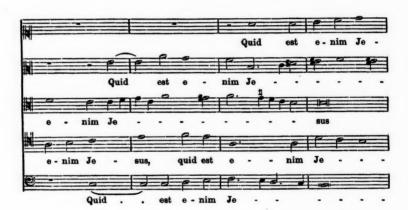




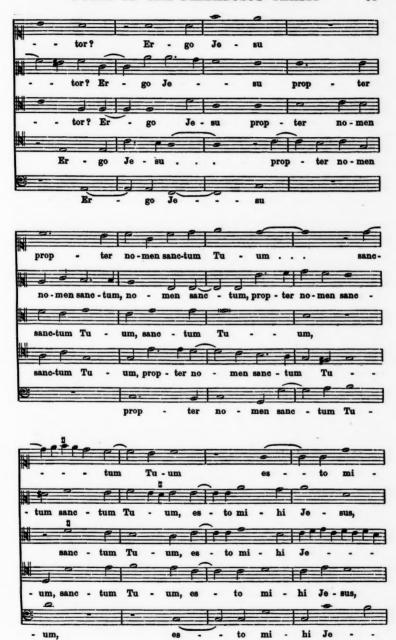














LISTS OF THE KING'S MUSICIANS

(Continued.)

THE list of the King's Musicians as given in the Audit Office Declared Accounts have now been printed from the accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration of Charles II. As was explained in the first number of the Musical Antiquary, this system of auditing the accounts began in Elizabeth's reign, and lists of the earlier Court musicians have to be compiled from various sources. Such lists cannot, however, be complete nor consecutive.

The instalment now printed has been compiled for the MUSICAL ANTIQUARY by Miss E. Stokes, and gives the payments to musicians for the first three years of Edward VI's reign.

Augmentation office Miscellaneous Book. 439.

The Boke of Receiptes and Paymentes . . . of Sir William Cavendishe, Knighte, Theasourer of the Kinges Chamber, 31 March 1 Edward VI to 1 October 2 Edw. VI.

fol. 15.] Monethe Wages in Aprel 1 Edward VI. [1547.]

Trompeters:—To Benedicte Browne, sergeaunt trompeter, John Tucke, Peter Fraunces, John Frier, Edmonde Frier, John Peches, Richard Frende, Arthure Scarlet, Thomas Newman, Thomas Browne, William Frende, Robert Copeley and Richard Lane, 40s. each; to John Warren, Henry Reve, Steven Medcalf, John Hall and John Grande, 20s. each.

Luters :- Phelip van Welder, 66s. 8d.; Peter van Welder, 80s.

Harper: - William More, 30s.

Singingman: -Thomas Kent, 15s.

- Thomas Bowde, 15s. (listed in May as singing man).

Rebecke: - John Severnake, 40s.

Vials:—Hans Hosenet, 33s. 4d.; Albert de Venice, Ambrose de Milano, Vinsent de Venice, Fraunces de Venice, Marke Anthony Galyardd and George de Combre, 30s. each.

Sagbuts:—Marke Anthony, Anthony Mary, Nicholas Andrewe and Anthony Symonde, 40s. each.

Player of the bagpipe :- Richerd Woodwarde, 20s.

Mynstrel: - Nicholas Puvall, 40s.

Dromslade: -Alexander Pennax, 30s.

In May the same musicians receive wages, but those who received 40s. in April received 41s. 4d. in May; those receiving 20s. in April, 20s. 8d. in May; 80s., 31s.; 15s., 15s. 6d.

In June Thomas Newman disappears from the trumpeters; otherwise the list is the same, and the amounts of wages as in April.

fol. 27 d.] Among Quarter's Wages for Midsomer :-

To William Lewes, instrument maker, 5s.

To William Beyton, organ maker, 100s.

To John Heiwood, plaier on the virginalles, 50s.

To Bernerd de Pont, harper, 100s.

To Robert Hinstoke and George Byrche, plaiers of enterludes, 38s. 4d.

To Piero Guye, plaier on the fluyt, £7 12s. 1d.

To Robert Colson, songpricker, 40s.

fol. 31 d, 32.] July 1 Edw. VI.

As in May, with the omission of Thomas Newman.

fol. 36 & 36 d.] August 1 Edw. VI.

As in July, with the addition of seven minstrels, viz.:—Hugh Pallard, Edwarde Lacke, Thomas Lye, Thomas Curson, Robert Maie, Allain Robson and Thomas Pagington, who receive 31s. each.

fol. 39 & 39 d.] September 1 Edw. VI. As in August, with wages at the lower rate.

George de Combre is described as of Cremonde.

fol. 44.] Michaelmas quarterly payments, as for June.

fol. 46 d. Halfe yeres wages due at Michelmas.

To Robert Revnoldes Welshe mynstrell, 33s. 4d.

fol. 49 & 49 d.] Monethe wages in October.

As last month, with the omission of Thomas Kent; at the higher rate.

fol. 54 & 54 d.] November 1 Edw. VI.

As last month, at the lower rate; Thomas Kent reappears.

fol. 59 d, 60.] December 1 Edw. VI.

As in November; at the higher rate.

fol. 62 d.] Quarter's wages December, as in the preceding quarters.

Exchequer K. R. Accounts. 426/6.

'The Kynges booke of Receyptes and paymentes receyved and payed by Sir William Cavendyshe, Knight, Tresaurer of the Kynges Majestyes Chambre' October 2 Edw. VI. [1548]—September 3 Edw. VI. [1549.]

fol. 15, 15 d.] October 2 Edw. VI.

As in December 1 Edw. VI.

fol. 18, 18 d. November 2 Edw. VI.

As in October, but William Frende and Robert Maie are omitted; at the lower rate. Thomas Lye appears as Alie.

fol. 23, 23 d.] December 2 Edw. VI.

As in November, but Robert Maye reappears; at the higher rate.

fol. 26 d.] Quarterly Payments, December.

As before, but no instrument maker appears.

fol. 30, 30 d.] Among the rewards given on New Year's day 2 Edw. VI to divers persons, the Kinges trompettes receive 100s., the Kinges drums-

lade 20s., the still mynstrelles £4, the new sagbuttes £4: the seven minstrels, who appear first in the accounts of August 1 Edw. VI, 'who served his grace when he was prynce,' £7; Lewes, Anthony, Jasper, John and Bassyam, mynstrelles, 100s.; the King's plaiers of Enterludes, £6 13s. 4d.; Guillam de Vart, Guillam de Trosse, and Pety John, mynstrelles, £4.

fols. 33-34.] Monethes Wages in Januarye 2 Edw. VI.

As in December; at the higher rate. A new trumpeter, Edward Elliot, receives 20s. 8d.

fols. 36 d, 37.] February 3 Edw. VI.

The musicians are as last month, but the wages are less, i.e. 87s. 4d. for 40s., and in proportion.

fol. 41, 41 d.] March 3 Edw. VI.

As before: at the higher rate of wages.

fol. 44 d.] Quarterly payments, March.

As in December 2 Edw. VI, with the half-yearly payment to Robert Reynoldes.

fol. 50, 50 d.] Monethes wages in Apryll 3 Edw. VI.

As in March; at the lower rate.

fol. 54, 54 d.] May 8 Edw. VI.

do.; at the higher rate.

fol. 58, 58 d.] June 3 Edw. VI.

do. : at the lower rate.

fol. 61 d.] Quarter's Wages at Mydsomer.

As in March, with five enterlude plaiers, viz., Richard Cooke, Richard Skynner, Henry Hariot, Thomas Sowthey and John Birche, each receiving 16s. 8d.

fol. 65, 65 d.] Monethes Wages in Julye, 3 Edw. VI.

As in June; at the higher rate.

fol. 68, 68 d.] August 3 Edw. VI.

do. do.

fol. 70, 70 d.] September 3 Edw. VI.

do., except that the payment to Nicholas Puvall is scored through, because it was not paid. At the lower rate.

fol. 75.] Quarter's Wages at Mychelmas.

As in June.

A few other documents relating to Edward VI's musicians will be found printed in Mr. de Lafontaine's *The King's Musick*, the most important of them being the Account for liveries for the Household for the burial of Henry VIII (Feb. 21, 1547-8). This gives a list which should be compared with the one printed here.

Another list of Edward VI's musicians was printed by Burney, and by Hawkins, to whose *Histories* the reader may be referred. I cannot be sure whether their list is printed from the Establishment-book for 1552, preserved in the British Museum (Stow, 571) as there are many variations in the names and in the spelling of them. The List of the Gentlemen of the Chapel given in the Stow MS. also differs in several respects from that printed in the *Histories*, and should be published. Here, however, it will be enough to give the names and salaries of the 'Musitions and Plaiers'.

Manuscratery . Serieunt Denedicte Drawns for 694 for 94	
Trumpetors:—Seriaunt Benedicte Browne, fee £24 6s. 8d. Trumpetes In number 16, everie of them having by	£418 18s. 4d.
the years £24 6s. 8d.	2110 100. 10.
Lutars:—Philip van Welder, fee £40; Allowaunce for	
6 singing children, £80	£138 5s. 0d.
Peter van Welder, fee £18 5s.	1 100 00. 00.
Harpers. Willim More, fee £18 5s.	
Bernarde de Ponte, fee £20	£88 5s. 0d.
Singers. Thomas Kente, fee £9 2s. 6d.	
Thomas Bowde, fee £9 2s. 6d.	£18 5s. 0d.
	£24 6s. 8d.
Sagbuttes. In number sixe, wherof five havinge)
£24 6s. 8d. by yeare, & one at £36 10s.	£158 3s. 4d.
Vialles. In number eight, wherof sixe at £30 8s. 4d.)
everie of them, & one at £20, and one of them at	£220 15s. 0d.
£18 5s.)
Bagpiper. Richard Wodward fee	£12 3s. (sic) 4d.
Mynstrelles. In number 9, wherof 7 at £18 5s. everie)
of them. One by the yeare £24 6s. 8d. One by	£155 8s. 4d.
the yeare £3 6s. 8d.	
Drumslades. In number three viz.: Robert Brewer)
Mr. drummer, £18 5s.; Alexander Pennax	£54 15s. 0d.
£18 5s.; John Hodgeskins, £18 5s.)
Plaiers on the fluite. Oliver Rampions, £18 5s.	£48 13s. 4d.
Pier Guye, £30 8s. 4d.)
Plaiers on the virginalles. John Heywodde, £50;	000 11. 01
Anthonie de Chountie, £30 8s. 4d.; Robert	£92 11s. 8d.
Bewman, £12 3s. 4d.	
Musitions straungers. The fower brethren venetians,	1
vz. John, Anthonie, Jasper & Baptist, £183	£296 6s. 8d.
16s. 8d.; Augustine Bassani, £36 10s.; Willim	
Trosses, £38; Willm Duvett, £38	
Plaiers of Enterludes. In number 8, everye of them	£26 18s. 4d.
p annum, £2 16s. 8d.	
Makers of Instruments. Willm Boton, Organ maker,	£80 0s. 0d.
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NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES

Orlando Gibbons's Hymn Tunes. These are found in Wither's Hymnes and Songs of the Church, 1623, for which they were arranged. All are usually assigned to Gibbons as composer; but one at least, the tune in C. M., no. 67, is of older date, and appears as no. 1 in Archdeacon Prys's Welsh Psalter, 1621. It is there anonymous and differs from Gibbons's version in the first note of the last line. The other tunes in Prys's book are nearly all tunes that were then already well known, and though Gibbons may have composed the tunes in new metres for Wither's hymns, it seems that for the C. M. pieces he made use of older material, selecting from the great number of C. M. tunes already existing one which had been passed over by Ravenscroft.

J. M. Duncan.

Nicholas Morgan of the Chapel Royal. Among the Hatfield Papers. published by the Hist. MSS. Com. (vol. v), there is a letter from John Dowland, the lutenist and composer, to Sir Robert Cecil, dated November 10, 1595, in which he says: 'Fifteen years since I was in France, . . . and lay in Paris, where I fell acquainted with one Smith, a priest, and one Morgan, sometimes of Her Majesty's Chapel, one Verstigan who brake out of England, being apprehended, and one Moris, a Welshman, that was our porter, who is at Rome. These men thrust many idle toys into my head of religion, saying that the Papists' was the truth and ours in England all false; and I, being but young, their fair words over reached me and I believed with them,' &c. The whole letter was printed with valuable notes in The Musical Times for December 1896 and February 1897 by Mr. W. Barclay Squire, who discusses the possibility of Dowland's having confused Morgan with Morris, for Morris was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal who 'fled beyond the seas' for the sake of his religion. Documents published since Mr. Squire's article appeared enable us now to state that Dowland was perfectly correct, except in saying 'fifteen years since 'without qualification, when he should have said 'nearly fifteen years'; and that 'one Morgan' was Nicholas Morgan, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, who was sworn in the place of William Hechins or Huchins on December 9, 10 Eliz. (i. e. 1567). He too fled for conscience' sake, apparently in the early summer of 1582, and found employment in Paris, where he was taken on as a stipendiary at the Sainte-Chapelle.

In the admirably edited volume Les Musiciens de la Sainte-Chapelle du

Palais, Documents inédits, recueillis et annotés par Michel Brenet, 1910, are several entries relating to Morgan between the years 1583 and 1586.

p. 135. 23 juillet 1583. Don de 10 écus à 'ung pauvre englès chantre'

qui a chanté 'avec les compaignons en l'eglise de ceans'.

p. 136. 3 décembre 1583. MM. 'ont ordonné au recepveur de donner à Nicolas Mauregan, Anglois, pauvre honteux, la somme de 10 escuz en considération de ce qu'il a esté chassé et expulsé de sa patrie pour voulloir mourir catholicque et pour n'avoir voullu suivre les huguenotz. Joinct qu'il se range tous les jours à l'eglise de ceans pour chanter sa partie de haulte-contre au cœur et à l'aigle.'

p. 136. 23 juin 1584. Aumône de 12 escuz à Nicolas Mauregan.

p. 139. 9 décembre 1585. Don de 10 écus 'à l'anglois chantre', en forme d'aumône, 'et pour la residence actuelle et debvoir qu'il faict au service de la Ste Chappelle'. p. 139. 8 mars 1556 . . . Le même jour, don de 10 écus, 'par aumône,

à Morgant, pauvre englès fugitif de son pays pour estre catholique.'

These entries solve, I think, the question raised in Mr. Squire's article as to who was the companion of Thomas (or Richard) Morris in his flight. In July 1582, Cardinal Allen writes from Rheims of 'two notable musicians' then at Rouen but expected at Rheims, married men who had escaped from the Queen's Chapel, to her great indignation. One was Morris, the finest musician in the place: the other however was reported to be far superior to him. Morris went on to Rome: the other unnamed musician was doubtless Morgan, who, as we have seen, remained in Paris.

Morgan was again in England in 1591, for there is a letter among the Molyneux MSS. at Loseley Park (7th Report of the Hist. MSS. Comm. Pt. I. p. 649 a) from the Lords of the Council to Sir William More, dated June 14, 1591, 'for the immediate discovery and arrest of "one Morgan sometymes of her maiesties chapell, an obstinate and seditious papist", who "hathe wandred in lurcking sorte up and down this great whyle from place to place, and is nowe thought to be in Sutton, either in or about Sir Henry Weston's howse, or at least yf he be not nowe there it is knowen that at tymes by startes he vseth to come thither in secret sorte, and perhaps not called by his right name".' W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

ANSWER

Mr. T. G. d. n. (iii. 240). Adriano, a new opera by Veracini, was first represented by his Majesty's command on November 25, 1735, and ran to the end of the year. It was resumed on February 7, and repeated seven Burney who gives this information (Hist. iii. 391) says nothing about the singers; but he states that the favourite songs were printed, and possibly Mr. T. G. . d . . n's name may appear in full at the head of some of his songs. I suspect that he was the Mr. Gordon who, Burney tells us (iii. 289), sang in Handel's Flavius in 1723. Ex LIBRIS.



